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TRAVELS

AND

ADVENTURES

IN

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SOUTHERN AFRICA.

BY

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

EIGHT YEARS A RESIDENT AT THE CAPE.

COMPRISING A VIEW OF

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CAPE COLONY,

WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE

PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF THE BRITISH EMIGRANTS.

LONDON:

HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

1827.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL BATHURST, K. G.

HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS VOLUME

OF

TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

IS, WITH PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

W.J. Huntley Esqr. del.

VIEW OF CAPE TOWN.

London, Publd. by H. Colburn, Jan.y 1827.

PREFACE.

SOUTHERN AFRICA has been traversed during the last fifty years by so many travellers, whose works are familiar to the public, that it is a common notion in England that there is nothing relating to that country of any general interest which is not already sufficiently known. This is not, however, the opinion of any person of intelligence who has recently been a resident or visitor at the Cape. The majority of the travellers who penetrated into the interior of the country in former times, were men enthusiastically and almost exclusively devoted to scientific pursuits. Discoveries in Natural History were their paramount objects. Man himself, whether social or savage, was secondary, in their researches, to a new plant or animal: and as for matters relating to agriculture or commerce, they scarcely entered in any degree into their investigations. Barrow, indeed, was a traveller of views much more enlarged and diversified: his work on the Cape contains an able and luminous sketch of almost all that, in his time, was particularly worthy of notice; and Lichtenstein, likewise a man

of general observation, elaborately filled up the outline. But the twenty years that have since elapsed, have produced important changes. The boundaries of the Settlement have been greatly extended; the circumstances of the old inhabitants, both white and coloured, have been much altered; a new population of British subjects has been introduced; the agricultural and commercial capabilities of the Colony have been more accurately ascertained; the geographical features of the interior regions, and the character and relations of the tribes who inhabit them, have been far more extensively investigated:—and all this, and much more, remains undescribed, or but partially described, by succeeding writers.

More recently, Burchell has doubtless added considerably to the previous stock of information, both as respects the Natural History of Southern Africa, and the condition and character of some of its native tribes. The work of the "Civil Servant," published in 1822, contains also much valuable matter, though of a very different description from Burchell's. A wide field, however, was still unoccupied; and even where other writers had preceded, a variety of important subjects remained to be discussed,—certainly not uninteresting to Englishmen, if a full acquaintance with the dependencies of the empire be considered necessary or desirable.

I have attempted to supply, in some degree, this desideratum: and I trust I may, without presumption, aspire to the approbation of my countrymen for the attempt, whatever may be the imperfections of the execution. My education and pursuits have been mercantile, not literary or scientific. I have been a traveller partly from motives of business, partly from the impulse of curiosity. I entertained no idea of becoming an author, until

the accumulation of materials, and the recently awakened demand in the Cape Colony for fresh information in regard to its condition and resources, induced me to revise my Notes and Journals, and to select for the press the portions now submitted, with some hesitation, to the Public.

Before adverting more particularly to the matters embraced in the following Volume, I may notice cursorily some of my earlier excursions into the country, in order to give the Reader a clearer idea of my principal objects in travelling, and the opportunities I possessed for acquiring correct information on the various subjects I have brought under review.

In January 1821, I made an excursion to Albany (accompanied by my friend Mr. Simpson, of Cape Town,) in order chiefly to examine into the prospects of the British Emigrants, who had been located there about eight months before, and to ascertain what branches of trade might be most successfully extended in that direction. Having gone by sea to Algoa Bay, we proceeded on horseback from Port Elizabeth (then a hamlet of only three or four houses), by Uitenhage, Graham's Town, and Fort Willshire, to the residence of the Chief Gaika in Cafferland; and returned by Caffer Drift, the Kowie Mouth, Bathurst, Uitenhage, the Lange-Kloof, Knysna, George, Swellendam, and Hottentot's Holland, to Cape Town. This excursion, which occupied about six weeks, gave me an opportunity of seeing the districts along the southern coast of the Colony, as far as the Keiskamma River, and of becoming in some degree acquainted, by personal observation, with the character and condition of the various classes of inhabitants,—Boors, Settlers, Hottentots, and Caffers.

I was far from considering myself, however, as yet sufficiently informed

on such points, or in regard to the general resources of the Colony. My curiosity was, indeed, rather excited than gratified; and I gladly availed myself of every new opportunity that offered, compatible with attention to business, of extending my observations. Such an opportunity again occurred in 1822, when, in consequence of the wreck of the ship Grace, near Cape Agulhas,* I had occasion to visit that secluded corner, and some of the adjoining districts.

In the latter end of August 1822, I made another circuit through the districts of Swellendam and George. My principal object was to investigate the commercial resources of those districts,—more particularly in regard to the exportation of aloes, a branch of colonial traffic which had at that time begun to assume some importance. I was accompanied by several Cape-Dutch gentlemen of my acquaintance, who possessed estates in that quarter of the Colony; and whose numerous connexions, also, in the wine and corn districts, afforded me a favourable opportunity of examining, on our route, the situation and prospects of these staple branches of colonial industry. After accompanying this party to Elbes-Kraal on the Gauritz River, and through various parts of the adjacent country, to survey the several bays, mouths of rivers, &c. I extended my journey across the mountains, on purpose to visit the remarkable grottoes of Cango, in the Zwartberg, (of which a minute description will be found in a subsequent part of the work,) and returned by Swellendam to Cape Town.

These preliminary excursions, besides the other purposes they embraced, enabled me to collect much statistical information, and prepared me to enter

* *Vide* Appendix No. IV.

with greater advantage upon the more distant and arduous journeys which I undertook in 1823 and 1824. The details of these latter journeys I need not here anticipate, since the narrative of them occupies almost two-thirds of the book, and their chief objects and results will be found sufficiently explained as the reader proceeds. A glance at the Table of Contents will show that my visit to the Bechuana country occurred at a most interesting crisis, and enabled me to survey the character of the natives in new and singular points of view, while unveiled by the excitement of extraordinary events.

In describing the present condition of the various Native Tribes, I have, moreover, had the good fortune to find the information acquired in the course of my own researches, corroborated and augmented from several most respectable quarters, which have been duly acknowledged in different parts of the narrative.

The third division of the work comprises a review of the present condition of the Dutch and British inhabitants,—of the agricultural, commercial, and financial circumstances of the country, and of its adaptation for farther Colonization; together with remarks and suggestions on various other matters, which, during an eight years' residence, have fallen under my observation.

An Appendix has been subjoined, in order to embrace materials, which, however interesting, could not with propriety or convenience be included in the text.

The map, though not quite so complete in regard to the *interior* of the North-eastern regions as I could have wished, will nevertheless, I trust, be

found to exhibit the most perfect delineation of the geographical features of Southern Africa that has yet been presented to the public. The whole of the Eastern frontier of the Colony has been carefully reduced from the recent military surveys; and the coast as far as Delagoa Bay compared with the scientific charts of Captain Owen. Cafferland, with its numerous streams and mountains,—the chief branches of the Gariep, so far as they have been traced towards their sources,—the names and positions of the various Bechuana and Caffer tribes,—and the general features of the desolate tracts inhabited by the Bushmen and Namaquas,—have been delineated, partly from my own personal observations, partly from sketches furnished by Messrs. Melvill and Brownlee, and partly from other authentic though miscellaneous materials. In the compilation of the map, I have to acknowledge the valuable aid of Mr. Knobel, Government Surveyor, in Cape Town,—who is already known to the public by his recent map of Albany, upon an extensive scale, and including the locations of the British settlers.

The plans of Cape Town and Graaff-Reinet will speak for themselves. The numerous plates (engraved under the superintendence of Mr. T. Fielding) have been accompanied, wherever it seemed requisite, with explanatory notices. It remains to say a few words of the frontispiece, engraved after an oil painting by my friend Dr. Heurtley.

Though upon so small a scale, this view affords perhaps at once the most accurate and pleasing picture of Cape Town and its environs that has yet been published. The spectator is supposed to stand with his back to Table Mountain, near the grand reservoir, about a mile distant from the seashore. The Government Gardens occupy the space immediately in front.

To the left lies the town, half overshadowed by the Lion's Rump, the view being taken about sunset. To the right of the steeple of the Calvinist Church, which appears conspicuously in the centre, lie the Barracks, a long range of buildings, with the Castle immediately adjoining. In the low ground, still farther to the right, may be seen the mouth of the Salt River, an inlet of the sea which forms a swamp for the space of a couple of miles inland. Immediately over this is the high land of the Tigerberg; and directly across the bay, over the anchorage ground, the view is bounded by the Blueberg mountains,—to the left of which the Koeberg terminates the range. The mouth of the bay, with Robben Island at its entrance, is shut out from the view by the Lien's Rump.

The view of Table Mountain from the Parade, supplies some of those remarkable features of our African capital, which Dr. Heurtley's picture could not embrace. For the drawing, as well as for the portraits of the Bechuana Chiefs, Peclu and Teysho, and various other embellishments of the work, I am indebted to the valuable pictorial aid of Mr. De Meillon. To the worthy old naturalist, Mr. Wehdemann, also, I must express my obligations for furnishing me with several of the drawings of animals which I have introduced.

Such is a brief sketch of the contents of the volume now presented to the public. The author is far from flattering himself that he has fully attained all the objects he aimed at, or that he has not left much for future and more accomplished travellers to supply; but he nevertheless ventures to hope that his work, though but little enriched by science, or embellished by

style, will be found to possess at least the interest that plain sincerity may aspire to,—and that the various information he has furnished, may prove, in the present eventful circumstances of our South African possessions, neither unappropriate nor devoid of utility.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

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TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES

IN

SOUTHERN AFRICA,

&c. &c.

PART I.

EXCURSION TO THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF THE COLONY, AND TO THE COUNTRY OF THE BECHUANAS.

CHAPTER I.

TRAVELLING ACCOUTREMENTS.—VILLAGE OF GEORGE.—AUTENIQUA-LAND.—PICTURESQUE SCENERY.—WOOD-CUTTERS.—AN ORNITHOLOGIST.—THE KNYSNA.—PASSAGE ACROSS THE CENTER-BERG.—THE LANGE-KLOOF.—KROMME-RIVER.—PORT ELIZABETH.

On the 20th of April, 1823, I left Cape Town on an excursion towards the Eastern and North-eastern boundaries of the Colony. My objects were partly of a commercial, partly of an exploratory nature. I wished to ascertain by personal inspection the resources of those remote districts, with the view of opening, if practicable, new and more profitable channels of mercantile enterprize. I was also desirous of penetrating, should circumstances admit of it, into the countries beyond the North-eastern frontier; and, without losing sight of my primary object, thereby gratifying the ardent desire I had long entertained of exploring unknown regions; and of

contributing, however humbly, to the enlargement of geographical science, and to a more exact acquaintance with the character and circumstances of the native tribes of Southern Africa. Such were my objects; which I request the reader to keep in view, in order that he may not be disappointed by the absence of scientific investigation in regard to various departments of natural history, which neither my previous acquirements, nor my mode of travelling, admitted of my entering upon.

From Cape Town to Elbes-Kraal in the district of Swellendam, a distance of about 250 miles, I travelled with Mr. Theunissen, a substantial African landholder, in his horse-waggon. And as this tract of country and mode of travelling have been so frequently described by others, I shall not occupy the reader's time by any particular account of this part of my journey. Whatever I observed worthy of notice in it will be condensed with other materials into a subsequent section of this work.

On the 26th we reached Elbes-Kraal, which is a farm belonging to Mr. Theunissen. I spent there a couple of days in preparing for my solitary journey to the interior. Some other travellers have minutely detailed the expensive and cumbrous apparatus which they considered it necessary to carry along with them for comfort, security, and scientific research in the desert regions of South Africa. I shall follow their example, by giving a list of my accoutrements; which, compared with those of my celebrated precursors, Vaillant, Sparrman, Burchell, and others, will at least afford an amusing contrast.

1. A strong saddle and bridle, with holsters, occupied by two brandy bottles in lieu of pistols.

2. A double-barrelled gun, with a supply of powder and ball; flints, bullet-mould, and other shooting gear.

3. A small portmanteau to fix behind my saddle, containing three changes of linen, small shaving apparatus, &c.

4. In the eight pockets of my shooting jacket were stowed the following articles:—

A map of South Africa; ditto of Albany; a compass, thermometer, and burning-glass; four memorandum-books and a dozen black-lead pencils; three pocket knives, tinder-box, roll of twine, &c., a small bottle of Eau de Cologne, and a few other medicines; and four pocket volumes of English poetry for occasional recreation. These, with a few other necessaries, occupied the numerous pockets of my coat, and increased its weight to about twenty-five lbs., a burden which, in hot weather, I found sufficiently cumbersome to carry constantly upon me, but which I could yet neither dispense with, nor otherwise dispose of.

My other accoutrements were a seal-skin cap for wearing in cold weather, and a broad-brimmed straw hat for lightness and shade under the burning sun. The latter, when off duty, was tied on my back: the former was readily slipped into one of my side-pockets.

I had also a warm Flushing great-coat for wrapping myself in at night, and which I designed to be carried by the Hottentot guides who must necessarily accompany me from place to place, with the horses I expected to hire or purchase on my route.

Lastly, I had taken care to provide myself with proper letters of introduction to the magistrates of the different districts through which I had to pass, in order to procure from them official orders to the inhabitants to supply me with horses and guides for hire, when I should require them.

Thus provided and accoutred, I left the residence of my hospitable acquaintance, on the 28th of April. I was ferried across the Gauritz river in a crazy flat-bottomed boat, and spent the night at Vogel-Valei, another farm belonging to Mr. Theunissen.

April 29.—I proceeded with two hired horses and a Hottentot guide,

and forded, not without difficulty, the Small and Great Brak Rivers, and other mountain-streams on my road. These rivers, or rather torrents, are frequently very suddenly swollen by the mountain rains. A few days before, a boor attempting to cross one of them with his waggon, narrowly escaped, with the loss of eight oxen. In the evening I arrived at George, and met with a hospitable welcome from the Landdrost Mr. Van der Riet.

30.—Spent this day at George, and transacted some business. I found here also Captain Harding, the Deputy Landdrost of Cradock, to whom I had letters of introduction, and received from him a cordial invitation to visit his residence in the upper country.

May 1.—This morning, long before daybreak, I started for the Knysna, with fresh horses and a guide. For some hours I travelled through a dark and dismal ravine in which flows the Zwart River, and at daybreak found myself near a place called Pampoen-kraal, being the identical spot where the celebrated Vaillant pitched his tent, and penned his romantic descriptions of this part of the Colony; and achieved (if we may credit his account) such mighty feats in elephant-hunting, as no other Nimrod before or since has equalled. Very few elephants are now to be found in the neighbouring forests, though buffaloes still abound.

The scenery around this spot is certainly picturesque and imposing in a high degree. The lofty, rugged mountains on the left, crested with clouds, and clothed along their skirts with majestic forests,—those woods irregular, dark, hoary with moss, and ancient-looking almost as the rocks which frown above them, or the eternal ocean itself which murmurs at their feet,—form altogether a scene of grandeur which fills the imagination with magnificent and romantic images; accompanied however with ideas of wildness, vastness, and solitary seclusion, almost oppressive to the heart.

This is the country formerly called Auteniqua-land, so much celebrated by travellers for its fine scenery and inexhaustible forests. Those forests supply not only Cape Town, but also a great part of the inland districts, with timber for building and other purposes. It is exported to Cape Town by sea from Plettenberg's Bay and the Knysna, and carried by land even to the Drostdy of Beaufort, and the other unwooded districts across the great Karroo.

Passing the ancient camp of Vaillant, we arrived at the brink of a tremendous ravine called the Kayman's-gat, (Crocodile's hole.) This name it has probably received from being frequented by the leguan, a species of amphibious lizard, growing to the length sometimes of six feet, but quite innoxious. No species of the crocodile has ever, I believe, been discovered in any part of the Colony. Through the bottom of this ravine flows a small black stream, inconsiderable in itself, but, when stemmed back by the tide, difficult and often dangerous to cross. At this time the tide was ebbing, and we crossed it without obstruction. For waggons it must be at all times an arduous and perilous pass. The banks on either side descend with an abruptness almost perpendicular for fully 300 feet: and altogether, with its grim precipitous environs shaded with gloomy woods, and its black Stygian waters winding deep below, it seemed to me one of the most frightful-looking spots I ever beheld.

About seven o'clock we stopped at a small hut occupied by a wood cutter and his family. His wife, who had been brought to bed the preceding day of her seventh child, lay in one end of the cabin, divided from the outer part only by a rush mat suspended from a beam. Here I could only procure a little milk, and even that, seeing their destitute condition, I received with reluctance, and not without due remuneration. These woodcutters are the poorest class of white people in the Colony; earning a livelihood with severe labour, by conveying timber to the

Knysna or to Cape Town, in waggons; an occupation which, they complain, affords them but a meagre subsistence.

Soon after passing the woodman's cabin, I crossed another frightful ravine nearly equal to the Kayman's-gat, called *Traka-da-Touw*, signifying, according to the interpretation of my guide, "Maiden's ford," in the language of the Hottentots.

My ride continued picturesque; the sea occasionally bursting on my view, while the smoke curled gracefully from the huts of the wood-cutters dispersed over the forest. The country towards the Knysna being intersected by innumerable deep ravines, the passage of waggons is rendered difficult and often hazardous. Owing to the back water from the sea, I was forced to keep near the mountains, where my guide taking the nearest route, led me through many intricate paths made by the elephant and buffalo. In the midst of one of the most precipitous ravines called the *Homtanu*, we were overtaken by rain which descended in torrents, drenching us in a few minutes to the skin, and rendering the steep clayey paths so slippery, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could extricate ourselves. Looking about for shelter, we at length discovered a neat little house, where we fortunately found accommodation, the day being by this time far spent. My host was a Mr. Tunbridge, a collector of specimens of Natural History. He had come out in the suite of Lord Caledon, and, on the conclusion of his lordship's administration, had located himself here. His chief occupation was the stuffing of birds for sale, especially that very beautiful and much-prized species called the Golden Cuckoo, which abounds in these forests.* This worthy man and his wife treated me with much hospitality, and I spent

* The great black eagle of the Cape is occasionally found in the neighbouring mountains; but specimens of it are very rare and difficult to be obtained. The vignette at the head of the following Chapter is accurately drawn from one recently shot on Table Mountain, which measured six feet five inches from the tip of one wing to that of the other.

a pleasant evening with them, conversing about the productions of the neighbouring country.

Next morning, having had my clothes dried, and partaken of a cup of coffee, I set out for the residence of Mr. Rex, at the Knysna. The morning was fine and bright, and as I passed through the beautiful copses, I was delighted with the warbling of some bird much superior in song to any I had hitherto heard in Africa, where the birds are generally much more remarkable for the brilliancy of their plumage than the melody of their notes. I was amused too by observing the monkeys, hundreds of which were extending themselves on the boughs of the trees with their breasts exposed to the morning sun. All nature seemed revived; the grass was covered with pearly drops, and over the forest on the skirts of the mountains hung several columns of vapour beautified by gleams of golden light. Thus pleasantly contemplating these refreshing scenes of unsophisticated Nature, I was brought to the margin of the Knysna river; or rather I may call it an arm of the sea. We found it broad and deep, but as the tide was fast ebbing, I waited half an hour, and then ventured in, having first secured my clothes, &c. upon my shoulders. We found it about four feet deep, and got through without much difficulty. It is, however, a dangerous ford for travellers not previously acquainted with it; for in attempting to go right across, one falls immediately into some perilous holes, and quicksands; whereas it is requisite to proceed straight forward only a certain distance, and then to turn down the middle of the stream for about fifty yards, before one steers to the opposite bank.

At nine o'clock I reached the house of Mr. Rex, from whom I met with a very cordial reception, and was prevailed on by his hospitable intreaties to defer the prosecution of my journey till next morning.

Mr. Rex is a gentleman of excellent education and elegant manners, who has been settled in the Colony upwards of twenty-six years. On his

first arrival he occupied a high situation under the Colonial Government, but having soon afterwards received an extensive grant of land at this place, he retired hither, and has since augmented his estate by considerable purchases.

The fine harbour of the Knysna has been repeatedly described by former travellers. It is calculated that fifty large ships might lie at anchor in it secure from all winds; but the entrance is narrow, and rather dangerous. Sir Jahleel Brenton, late Naval Commissioner at the Cape, proposed to the Board at home to build a frigate here. They directed him first to construct a vessel of 200 tons. This was commenced, and would soon have been finished; when unfortunately a fire broke out, which destroyed all that had been accomplished, and ship-building has not been since resumed.

3.—Left Mr. Rex's comfortable mansion after breakfast, and proceeded to the place of Van Huisteen, Veld-Cornet, near Plettenberg's Bay. About an hour's ride from the Knysna, we passed through a narrow defile, remarkable for being the scene where the Caffers about twenty years ago had killed three Boors and three of their slaves, as they were travelling with their wives to the Bay. The women were carried off and detained for seven days in the neighbouring mountains, but were treated with civility and dismissed uninjured. On reaching Van Huisteen's, I found that the day was too far spent to enable me to cross the great ridge of mountains into the Lange-Kloof, by the route that I proposed to take. The Paarden-Kop path I had travelled on a former occasion, and now wished, for the sake of novelty, to follow one of which I had heard, farther to the eastward. But as the distance was fully thirteen hours, and the way was wild and difficult, and without a place of shelter of any description, I considered it better to defer proceeding till next day. At dinner we were joined by six boors who had been hunting in the neigh-

bourhood, and who prolonged their boisterous merriment and barbarous freaks to a late hour.

4.—Tired of my gross and turbulent companions, I preferred proceeding, although it was Sunday, to spending another day with them. Accordingly, I set out an hour before daylight with two guides and five horses. One man, however, whom I had taken with spare horses, merely to ease those on which my guide and I were to cross the mountains, was sent back on our reaching the Keurboom River, about three hours on our way. At this place we entered the great forest, which skirts the mountains, as already described. And here we encountered a scene of difficulties which I had neither anticipated nor been provided for. No one, it seems, had travelled this path for several years, and in the meanwhile some tremendous storm had choked it up by throwing immense trees across the passage; obstructing our progress in such a manner that sometimes we were forced to drag our horses under the impending trunks and shattered limbs of the fallen trees; at others, to force a passage through the tangled and almost impenetrable underwood. These fatiguing exertions continued for about three miles, during which my holsters and portmanteau were more than once torn from my saddle, and my clothes almost rent from my back. By infinite toil and perseverance, however, we at length got clear of the jungle; and after a more gradual ascent of about two hours farther, we reached the lofty summit of the Center-berg, where a scene of grandeur burst upon the view, which amply compensated for all our toils. It almost seemed as if we were looking down upon the world. Plettenberg's Bay and the Knysna lay at our feet, with the ocean closing the view in that direction; while, on the other side, a mass of wild mountain scenery extended itself in chaotic confusion, as far as the eye could penetrate.

From this ridge we immediately began to descend through a sweet and solitary valley, surrounded by rugged peaks. In this glen we rested, and

refreshed ourselves at noon in a spot covered with flowers and verdure. Here the temperature was very warm,—78° in the shade by my travelling thermometer, and upwards of 100° in the sun. While we tarried here, a thunder-storm collected on the peaks around us, and soon burst in terrible peals among the rocks; but the rain passed off in another direction without drenching us.

On recommencing our journey we passed through an intricate and fatiguing range of mountains, glens, forest-kloofs, and thorny jungles; and occasionally, as we traversed some of the valleys, the grass and heaths were so high, that I could only distinguish the head of my guide as he rode before me. About four o'clock the Hottentot told me, that the hill in front was the last that we had to surmount. Of all that we had encountered this proved to be the most precipitous, and ere we gained its summit, both ourselves and our horses were nearly exhausted. As we ascended, a most striking change was experienced in the temperature. In the valley we had found it sultry and suffocating; but on the mountain ridge the thermometer had again fallen to 50°, while, at the same time, we were enveloped in cold misty vapours, hurried over the summits by a furious wind. After a short descent, however, we escaped from the stormy clouds, and I saw the Lange-Kloof below us just as the sun sunk under the horizon. Another hour brought us to Stephanus Ferreira's (Klippen-Drift,) where I took up my quarters for the night, after one of the most fatiguing days I had ever spent; the greater part of the journey being through rocks and forests, frequently on foot, and without the sight of a living man, or a human residence of any description, to relieve the solitary landscape.

Having now got again into the beaten track, I pursued my journey to Algoa Bay without meeting with any occurrence worthy of notice. The

monotonous scenery of the Lange-Kloof, and the manners of its inhabitants, have been frequently described, nor did I perceive that any thing new or important remained untold respecting either. The mouth of the Kromme River is, however, interesting both to the merchant and mineralogist, and I have since regretted that circumstances prevented me from then visiting it. A vein of coal has recently been discovered there, and the mouth of the river is said to be accessible to small craft. These advantages, if they can be made available, may hereafter render this little river, and the neglected bay into which it falls, of some importance to the Colony.

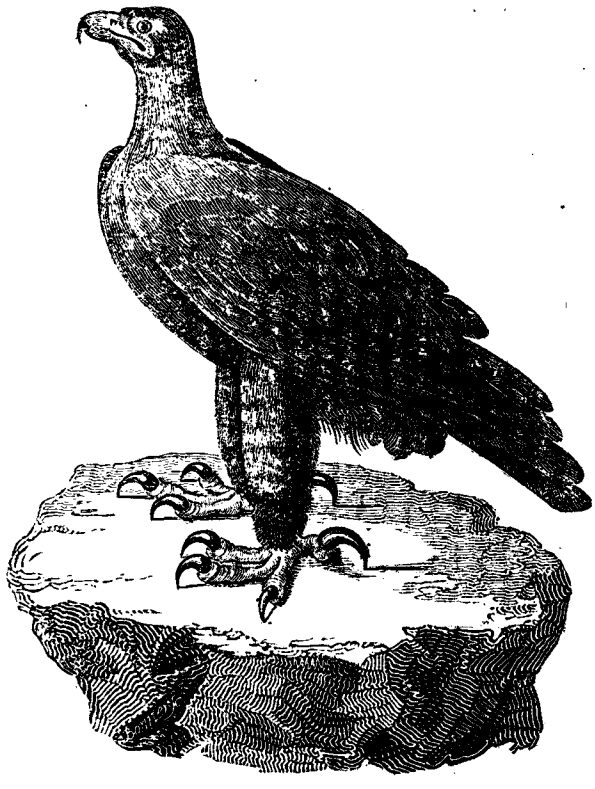
7.—Reached Port Elizabeth late this evening, and found lodgings at one of the two inns now established there. The other was crowded with the officers of a Dutch man-of-war, (the Zeepaard) which a few days before had run ashore in a fog on Cape Recife, and was totally wrecked. The crew were saved not without difficulty, eight men having been drowned, and about twenty much hurt by being dashed by the surf upon the rocks.

Another shipwreck had taken place in Algoa Bay a short time before this. The Heworth, an English brig with Government stores and flour for the Settlers, went ashore close to the landing-place, and was lost. The flour had luckily been disembarked before this occurred; but being the first vessel from England direct to this port, the wreck in the Bay is considered peculiarly unfortunate.

The village of Port Elizabeth is built along the beach, close below the old blockhouse erected to protect the landing-place, and named Fort Frederick. In 1820, when the Settlers arrived, this place, exclusive of the Fort, contained only three small thatched houses, erected for the Government officers, and a few wretched huts inhabited by Hottentots and free blacks. Since that period it has, in consequence of the great increase of the coasting-

trade, risen rapidly to importance. Though very irregularly built, the village now contains two respectable inns, and many neat and substantial private houses and stores; and the number of inhabitants is estimated at about 500 of all conditions, the majority of whom are English.*

* In January 1826, Port Elizabeth was still increasing, though not so rapidly as during the first three years after the arrival of the settlers. A clergyman of the Church of England had been stationed there, and an English Church was in progress. A place of worship, which is also to be used for holding a Sunday school for the Hottentot and other coloured inhabitants, was erecting by subscription, under the superintendence of the Bethelsdorp Missionaries. And while this sheet is passing through the press, I observe with satisfaction that the privileges of a regular port have also been conferred on this place.



CHAPTER II.

BETHELSDORP.—UITENHAGE.—QUAGGA-FLAT.—FATAL ADVENTURE OF THE BOOR MARÈ. — THEOPOLIS. — BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY. — KOWIE MOUTH.—THORNHILL LOCATION.—EXCURSION TO THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT FISH RIVER.—VILLAGE OF BATHURST.

MAY 8.—I left Algoa Bay in the afternoon, and in little more than an hour reached the Hottentot village of Bethelsdorp, about nine miles distant. Though my stay was too short to enable me to examine the place with any minuteness, yet I was agreeably surprised by the striking improvement that

had taken place in its external appearance since my former visit about three years before. The arrival of the settlers I found had been of very considerable advantage to the Hottentots of this institution, by the increase of the frontier trade furnishing them with profitable employment, especially in the conveyance of goods between the Bay and Graham's Town. From forty to fifty waggons belonging to the people of Bethelsdorp were now almost constantly on the road, employed in this carrying trade, and in the transport of Government stores to the different military posts on the frontier. I arrived the same evening at Uitenhage, the *Drostdy* or district town.

9.—Spent this day at Uitenhage, where I had some acquaintances among the English storekeepers. This village, situated about eighteen miles from Port Elizabeth, possesses several advantages rather uncommon in South Africa, which may one day perhaps render it a place of importance. It is more abundantly supplied with fresh water, and with facilities for irrigation, than any other town in the Colony. The soil around it is fruitful, and the climate mild and salubrious. The boisterous south-east winds, and the oppressive summer heats, so much felt at Cape Town, are here scarcely known. Provisions of all sorts are cheap and plentiful, and the production of them may be increased to an extent almost indefinite. It is too far from the sea indeed to become a port, yet by means of steam-boats the mouth of its river (the Zwartkops) may be rendered accessible to within three or four miles of the town; and in this way vessels in Algoa Bay may deliver their cargoes more easily and safely perhaps, than by means of the surf-boats at Port Elizabeth. 'In no respect, except in proximity to the beach, can Port Elizabeth pretend to rival Uitenhage,—situated as is the former in a bleak and barren desert, where the most common vegetables are reared with difficulty, where fresh water is scarce, and irrigation impracticable.

Nevertheless, Uitenhage, with all its natural advantages, and its convenient position for becoming the emporium of the eastern districts, has not

increased of late in any degree commensurate with its apparent capabilities, or in comparison with some other places on the frontier. The rapid growth of Graham's-Town and Port Elizabeth have even been injurious to its prosperity, by abstracting from it labour and capital. But this falling back may be attributed, I think, to temporary causes; and with the gradual increase of capital and general prosperity, Uitenhage can scarcely fail to re-establish its real claims, and to become eventually (if I may venture to prophesy) the most populous and important town in the eastern part of the Colony.

10.—Proceeded on my journey about an hour before daybreak. The country bushy and uninteresting, until we reached the Addo-heights beyond the Sunday River, the peculiar features of which have already been too frequently described now to detain me. In the afternoon I stopped at the Boor Marè's on Quagga-Flat, not being able to procure fresh horses till next morning.

Before dark three boors, who were travelling like myself, dropped in one after the other *sans ceremonie* to take up their lodgings for the night. It is the custom of the country; and no one, however uncivil in other respects, will refuse the wayfaring man, though entirely a stranger, the hospitality he may himself have occasion to require in his turn. In this country, therefore, the expenses of travelling to the inhabitants are small, but of hospitality to such as reside near the great roads sometimes considerable.

In the course of conversation our hostess, the *Juffrouw Marè*, gave an account of the recent death of one of her relations in the following manner. On the 1st of January a party of friends and neighbours had met together to celebrate New-year's-day; and having got heated with liquor, began each boastingly to relate the feats of hardihood they had performed. Marè, who had been a great hunter of elephants (having killed in his day above

forty of those gigantic animals) laid a wager that he would go into the forest, and pluck three hairs out of an elephant's tail. This feat he actually performed, and returned safely with the trophy to his comrades. But not satisfied with this daring specimen of his audacity, he laid another bet that he would return, and shoot the same animal on the instant. He went accordingly with his mighty *roer*,—but never returned. He approached too incautiously, and his first shot not proving effective, the enraged animal rushed upon him before he could reload or make his escape, and having first thrust its tremendous tusks through his body, trampled him to a cake.

Our supper at this place consisted of boiled pumpkins and stewed meat. The pumpkin is the only vegetable I had seen on the tables of the boors as I came along, although potatoes and most other esculent vegetables common in Europe may be cultivated with success and facility through all the districts contiguous to the coast. But, contented with abundance of animal food, they seem but little solicitous for any farther luxury or comfort, which costs trouble in the acquisition.

11.—Crossed the Bushman's River, which, on account of continued drought, had not been running for two years, and consisted merely of a chain of pools. At 8 o'clock reached Mr. Daniel's at Sweet-Milk Fountain. Here I stopped to breakfast, and was much delighted to see the very great improvements that had been effected since my visit in January 1821. Mr. Daniel is a lieutenant in the navy, and one of the British emigrants of 1820. He, and his brother, who lives near him, are generally allowed to be among the most enterprising and industrious of the settlers. A great extent of arable land had been brought under cultivation, and divided into neat fenced enclosures; and their wheat crops were already about a foot high, while the African boors in the vicinity had only commenced sowing.

Proceeded on to Assagai-Bush, where, since the arrival of the settlers, a sort of inn has been established. Here I left the Graham's Town road,

and turned off towards the coast, it being my intention in the first place to visit the mouth of the Kowie River. On my way I called at Captain Butler's, an Irish settler, abounding in hospitality, but at that time, poor fellow! but ill supplied with the means of exercising this liberal disposition, so general among his countrymen. We dined upon a little dry cheese and butter-milk; but it was his best, and given with cordiality. A short time before, his only daughter, a child about three years old, had died of the bite of a serpent, which she had trod upon while playing in the garden. Poor Mrs. Butler appeared very disconsolate, and her mind in a morbid, disordered state, in consequence of this distressing event. Venomous snakes abound in every part of the Colony, and it is wonderful that fatal accidents are not more frequent. Since leaving Cape Town, I had heard of the death of two women on my route, by these reptiles.

After leaving Captain Butler's, a plain of about twenty miles extent lay before me, over which we galloped at a good round pace, and soon reached the small river Karrega, near which were the locations of several settlers; and the pretty village of Salem, inhabited entirely by Methodists, lay a little to the right. I did not stop at any of these locations, but observed as I rode along a good deal of land cultivated and enclosed, and numerous herds of cattle.

About an hour's ride from the Karrega, I arrived at Lombard's-Post, a farm belonging to Colonel Fraser, commandant of the Cape Corps, to whom I had a letter of introduction. This officer has been long stationed on the frontier, and is universally beloved by all classes of the inhabitants; and even the Caffers, against whom he has served in many a harassing campaign, respect his name, on account of the exemplary humanity and good faith he has displayed in all his dealings with them. Unhappily his health, which had long been in a declining state, has obliged him to retire from active duty, and leave the defence of the frontier in other hands.

After partaking of a second dinner with Colonel Fraser, and his brother and surgeon, who resided with him, I proceeded forward to Theopolis, a missionary institution belonging to the London Society, near the mouth of the little river Kasouga. This place had been repeatedly attacked by the Caffers during the late war, but had been successfully defended by the vigilance and intrepidity of its Hottentot inhabitants; who, for the security of their numerous cattle, (the principal object of Caffer cupidity), had industriously fenced the common kraal of their village with a very strong and lofty palisade. The stakes of this fence, consisting chiefly of Caffer-boom (*Erythrina Caffra*) which grows abundantly in the neighbourhood, had in numerous instances struck root, and thrown out flourishing branches, which gave the palisade an uncommon and agreeable effect. The Missionaries were now occupied in removing the establishment to a more favourable site about half a mile down the river. The new village is to be laid out in regular streets, and the houses of the Hottentots to be substantially built of stone or brick, in place of their old, irregular, and uncomfortable wattled cabins. The new parsonage and school-room had been already erected. Here I spent the night, and received very hospitable entertainment from Mr. Barker, the Missionary.

12.—Proceeded onwards towards the Kowie mouth, which is only about twelve miles from Theopolis. Passed the location of the late General Campbell, (one of the heads of the settlers,) which is now occupied by his widow, an elegant and accomplished lady. The natural features of the country are here exceedingly beautiful, and Mrs. Campbell's neatly ornamented cottage, though constructed only of wattle and plaster, had a most pleasing and picturesque appearance, surrounded by luxuriant woods and copses of evergreens, in the disposal of which the wanton hand of Nature seemed to have rivalled the most tasteful efforts of art.

As I travelled along through this rich and smiling scene, now enlivened by

the dwellings and improvements of civilized man, and saw the flocks of sheep pasturing on the soft green hills, while the foaming surge broke along the beach on my right hand, I could not help recalling to mind the fate of the Grosvenor's shipwrecked crew, who traversed this beautiful country in other times and far different circumstances. It was not far from this very spot that the poor boy, Law, after surmounting incredible hardships, lay down to sleep upon a rock, and was found dead in the morning. At that time the boundary of the Colony extended only to Algoa Bay, and the wretched wanderers had still innumerable toils and perils to endure before they could reach the residence of Christians,—and but few survived indeed to reach them. A skeleton, which was lately found by my friend Mr. Thornhill, in one of the sand-banks, a few miles farther to the eastward, in a sitting posture, may not improbably be the remains of one of those unfortunate wanderers; for many instances are related, in the journal of the survivors, of individuals exhausted with hunger and fatigue, sitting down to rise no more; and a corpse left in such a situation would be covered up by the drifting of the sand in a few hours, if the wind happened to blow strong from the south-east.

This coast has been rendered but too remarkable by many other disastrous shipwrecks. Many years ago the Doddington, Indiaman, a fine large vessel, having struck upon a rock near Algoa Bay, was totally wrecked, and all on board perished. In February 1796, a vessel from India, under Genoese colours, was wrecked between the Bushman and Sunday rivers. The boors flocked from all sides to plunder; and one person, who alone attempted to assist the unfortunate crew, was, on this account, as it is said, murdered by his barbarous countrymen. Very different was the conduct of the Caffer 'savages,' when the American ship Hercules was stranded in 1797, between the Fish River and the Keiskamma. *They* treated the crew with the utmost kindness and hospitality, and conducted them safely into the Colony.

After a very pleasant ride I reached the mouth of the Kowie river,

Here I found the tide running out with great rapidity, and as the stream can only be safely forded at low water, I was obliged to wait some time. At length, two soldiers, employed on the opposite side, pushed off for me with a small boat; and having discharged my guide with the horses, and taken my saddle and other accoutrements into the boat, I crossed over, and proceeded on foot to the residence of my friend Mr. Thornhill, which is about a mile from the landing-place.

The location of Mr. Thornhill, which lies in the angle formed by the left bank of the river Kowie with the sea, is one of the most beautiful spots in all Albany, with lawns and copsewoods, laid out by the hand of Nature, that far surpass many a nobleman's park in England. In fixing his dwelling, the proprietor, and his son-in-law, Lieut. Gilfillan, have not failed to avail themselves of the most favourable situations. The cottage of the latter especially, which, with its little garden, crowns the summit of a small green mount, commands a prospect scarcely, I think, to be rivalled in Africa for rich and romantic scenery: while the village of Bathurst, in the back-ground, about eight miles distant, gives animation to a landscape, which, at the time I visited it, appeared to an European eye somewhat too lonely amidst all its loveliness. *

But the probability of the Kowie mouth becoming available as a harbour for small vessels, is a matter of far higher importance to the prospects of Mr. Thornhill's family, than the fine scenery on their grounds: and on this subject, interesting not alone to them, but to the great majority of the Albany settlers, I heard much conversation, without, however, being able then to form any very decided opinion myself. At that time, the hopes of the Albany settlers were high, and their prospects on this point very flattering;

* The accompanying plate gives a sufficiently accurate view of this rustic dwelling and part of the adjoining scenery; but it is on too confined a scale to afford an adequate idea of the magnificent landscape which is commanded from Mr. Gilfillan's little mount.

a small vessel called the *Good Intent*, of twenty tons, having made several successful trips from Cape Town to the Kowie, and landed her cargo in good order.

13.—This morning I set out, accompanied by Lieut. Gilfillan and Mr. J. Thornhill, to visit the mouth of the Great Fish River, about eighteen miles distant. On our way we passed through several locations of settlers, with the appearance of which I was much pleased. The hedges and ditches, and wattled fences, presented home-looking pictures of neatness and industry, very different from the rude and slovenly premises of the back-country boors.

A small river, called the Kleine-Montjes (Little Mouths) crossed the line of our route; but its outlet to the sea being entirely filled up with drift sand, we passed it perfectly dry. This bar is at present elevated very much above high-water mark, and gives to the mouth of the river the appearance of a small lake. The scenery at this spot is very beautiful. A range of sand-hills, in many places overgrown with tall brushwood, extends along the whole of the Albany coast. These hills have been evidently formed by the drifting of the sand from the beach at low water, by the strong south-east winds, though at first sight their great elevation and apparent antiquity render this supposition scarcely credible.

As we rode along, Mr. Gilfillan amused us with a story of two settlers, a man and his wife, who, when recently passing through this part of the country, were terribly frightened by a troop of elephants. Seeing those enormous animals suddenly emerge from an adjoining copsewood, they fled in the utmost alarm, and to aid their speed, popped their infant child, which, they were carrying, into an ant-eater's hole. The elephants, however, fortunately took a different direction, and the selfish parents recovered their poor child uninjured from its dismal bed.

We reached the mouth of the Great Fish River about noon, and, it being

then low water, we had a fine opportunity for inspecting it. The bar, on which the surf breaks with great violence, will, I much fear, for ever prevent vessels from entering; but could this obstacle be by any means permanently removed, it would form a most excellent harbour. Within the bar, the mouth of the river opens out into a magnificent sheet of water, extending eight or ten miles into the country; and which is wide and deep enough to afford safe anchorage for a large fleet. We could perceive no vestiges of the Portuguese fort said to have been erected here in former times. Other travellers, who possessed no means of crossing the river, may possibly have been deceived by some rocks on the left bank, which at a distance certainly have a striking resemblance to the ruins of a fort.

On our return we called at Captain Crause's residence, a few miles from the mouth of the Fish River; and, varying our route, we also visited a number of other locations on our way home. Altogether, the country I had passed through since leaving Theopolis, was the most beautiful and pleasing I have seen in Africa.

On reaching Mr. Thornhill's, we learned that the little schooner, Good Intent, was arrived off the mouth of the river, and that the harbour-boat had taken a pilot on board, but in returning had been upset by the surf on the bar, and the boatmen had with difficulty saved their lives by swimming. As I had intended to have gone out in the pilot-boat to meet this vessel, and examine the bar more narrowly, I could not but congratulate myself on my accidental absence; for had I not been at the Fish River, I should in all probability have been upset in this boat, and, being no swimmer, most likely drowned.

I spent the two following days with Mr. Thornhill's family, conversing of former days which we had spent together in Cumberland, and listening with interest to the detail of their past adventures and future plans in South Africa. Whatever regrets might be blended with the retrospect of the

past, I found them on the whole satisfied with their situation and prospects —and *that*, in the comparative estimate of human circumstances, is all that in general can be reasonably hoped for.

16.—Took leave of my kind friends, except the elder Mr. Thornhill, who accompanied me to Graham's Town. At noon we reached Bathurst, a village founded by Sir Rufane Donkin, the late acting governor, and designed by him to be the seat of magistracy for the English settlers. For this its situation, near the centre of the locations, rendered it much preferable to Graham's Town. Its vicinity also to the Kowie mouth and to the moist sea air, which renders irrigation unnecessary, and many other local advantages which it possesses above Graham's Town, as well as the general concurrence of the settlers in its favour, appear fully to justify the selection of this spot. Graham's Town has, however, been ultimately re-established by Government, as the Drostdy town of Albany. Had Lord Charles Somerset been accurately informed, or fully aware from personal inspection of the comparative advantages of the two villages, I think he would scarcely have directed the removal of the Drostdy; particularly as many individuals had been induced to expend considerable sums of money in building houses and establishing themselves at Bathurst, upon the presumption that the village would enjoy, in addition to its other advantages, the benefits naturally resulting from being the seat of the local magistracy; a Drostdy-house having been already built at a considerable expense, and other indications shown of the intentions of Government on the subject. Among this part of the community, therefore, I found, as might naturally be expected, many persons loud in their complaints against his Lordship, and not slow in ascribing the ruin of their prospects to this sudden and unlooked-for change. Whether in a newly-settled country, contiguous to such troublesome neighbours as the Caffers, it may not have been expedient to place the military and civil powers upon the same spot; and whether, in such a

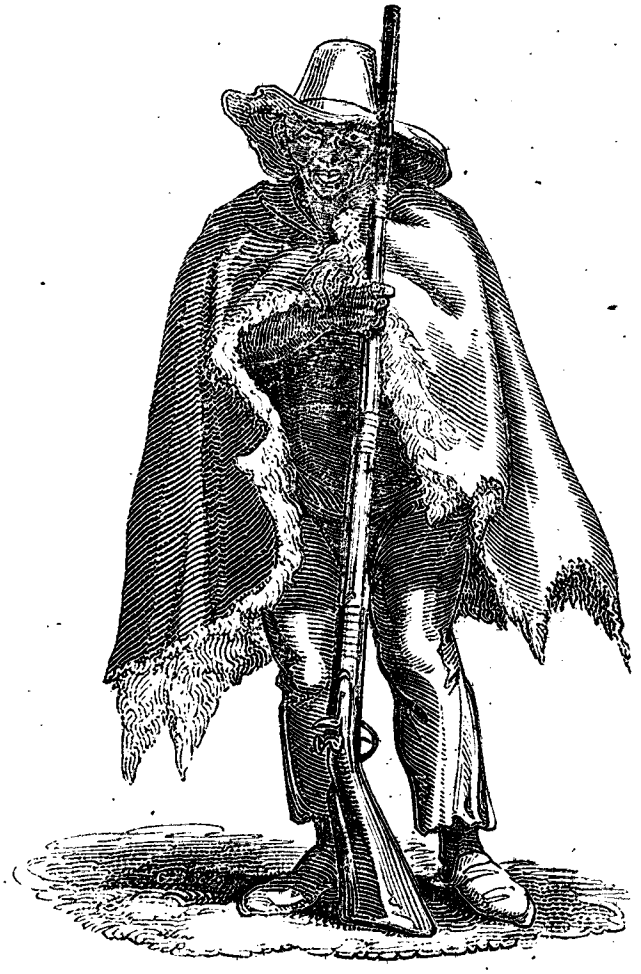
case, Graham's Town is not better situated for a military station, is a matter upon which I do not pretend to decide; but it may, in some measure, perhaps, account for the change.

Leaving this deserted Drostdy, we soon reached the residence of a settler, commonly known by the name of "Philosopher Bennet," and celebrated for his indefatigable industry. In spite of the blight in the corn, this eccentric but enterprising old gentleman appeared to be sanguine of the ultimate success of all the settlers whose exertions deserved it. He had himself shown a most laudable example, and his exertions had not been unrewarded, for he had a profusion of vegetables of almost every sort fit for the table, and had planted a vineyard which looked thriving and beautiful.

Having procured fresh horses here, we continued our journey, passing many locations on our way, and arrived at Graham's Town about 10 P. M. The distance from the Kowie to this town is about forty miles.

The route I had followed from the Bushman's River to the Kowie mouth, and from thence to the Fish River, and again by Bathurst to Graham's Town, enabled me to survey, though somewhat cursorily, a large proportion of the locations of the settlers. But as their distresses were much aggravated after the period of my visit, by the effects of a dreadful deluge of rain, which destroyed many of their dwellings, gardens, and corn-fields;* and as the capabilities of that part of the country, and the prospects of the emigrants, have been since more clearly developed, I consider it better to reserve my observations on this interesting subject for a subsequent chapter; when, without anticipating the thread of my narrative, I may bring down their history to a much more recent period.

* The calamitous effects of this hurricane are vividly described in a letter by Mr. Philipps, in Mr. Pringle's tract on the "State of Albany" (1824); where, among numerous other disasters, it is stated that "poor Bennet had lost his labour for three years; and that not a vestige of his beautiful garden and vineyard remained."—I am happy to add, however, that the indefatigable "philosopher" has subsequently re-planted them with success in a safer situation.



CHAPTER III.

GRAHAM'S TOWN. — JOURNEY UP THE FISH RIVER. — HOTTENTOT HERDSMAN. — SOMERSET FARM. — ZWAGERSHOEK. — CRADOCK. — THRIVING CONDITION OF THE GRAZIERS.

MAY 17.—Spent this day in Graham's Town, where I transacted some commercial business, and called on the landdrost, Mr. Rivers, and several of the principal inhabitants. I found this town much increased in size and population since I was here in January, 1821. At that time it

contained only about eighty houses; now there were upwards of 300.* A drostdy-house of large dimensions was erecting; extensive barracks, and a large *tronk* (or prison) were also in progress, and the foundation of a church was laid. These public buildings, together with a number of private houses constantly erecting, furnish employment to a great number of mechanics and labourers at high wages;---but whether this demand for workmen may be permanent seems extremely problematical. The present prosperity of Graham's Town seems to rest almost exclusively upon its being the seat of magistracy, and the head-quarters of the military stationed for the defence of the frontier.

18.—I had intended to have prosecuted my journey this morning at an early hour, but on calling for the horses I had engaged, found they had been put in the *schut-kraal* or pound. This is an inconvenience very much and justly complained of at Graham's Town, and arises chiefly from a considerable portion of the public grounds formerly belonging to the town having been inconsiderately granted to private individuals, so that the instant cattle or horses are turned out on the common, they are sure, if not carefully tended, to trespass on some of the adjacent ill-fenced fields, and are hurried off to the *schut-kraal* till the damage is adjusted.

At length, after waiting several hours, we got the horses relieved from durance, and I started about ten o'clock, directing now my course northward towards the source of the Fish River. In about an hour after leaving Graham's Town, the green pastures of Albany disappear, and the road as it approaches the banks of the Fish River, winds through the black and monotonous jungle, unfit for the residence of men or for the pasture of cattle, but affording food and shelter to several varieties of the smaller antelopes,

* In January 1826, the population of Graham's Town amounted to about 2,500 souls, the great majority of whom were English.

G. Thompson, Esq.r del.t

GRAHAMS TOWN.

London, Publ.d by H. Colburn, Jan.y 1827.

and to troops of wolves and wild dogs, which often prove very destructive to the flocks of the neighbouring colonists.

The dreary and desolate aspect of the country up the Fish River, from Graham's Town to Roode-Wall, has been frequently noticed by former travellers, and seems indeed to be scarcely susceptible in any respect of improvement. The farms, "few and far between," are mere *vee-plaatzen*, or cattle places, without in general the comfort of a garden, or the means of cultivating a single blade of corn.

The bed of the Fish River is too deep to admit of irrigating the banks by leading out the water; and without irrigation, the soil, though rich in quality, is far too arid, and the rains too precarious to enable the farmers to rear either corn or vegetables. They are not, therefore, to be blamed on this account, like their countrymen along the coast, where the soil is much more loose and cool, and the atmospherical moisture more regular and abundant. Nevertheless, the dry and ruggid pastures of the Fish River are very favourable for cattle and sheep; and the inhabitants, if relieved from the annoyance and damage to which they are continually exposed, from the unsettled state of the frontier and the consequent predatory incursions of the Caffers, would apparently be well content to endure the privations to which they are subjected by the peculiarities of their soil and climate.

About four P. M. I arrived at Mynheer Espagh's, a Veld-Cornet,* and one of the most extensive graziers of the district. Here I was obliged to wait till next morning to obtain a relay of fresh horses, and I amused myself by observing the boor folding his herds and flocks, attended by his

* The *Veld-Cornet* is a sort of petty magistrate, empowered to settle little disputes within a circuit of fifteen or twenty farms, to punish slaves and Hottentots, to call out the burghers, over whom he presides in the public service, and act as their officer on *Commandoes*; to supply Government with relays of horses and oxen when wanted, &c. &c. For this service he receives no salary (except upon the Caffer frontier), but is exempted from all direct taxes.

wife, children, slaves, and Hottentots. The appearance was patriarchal and picturesque, and recalled to my mind the ancient poet's description :—

"On came the comely sheep,
From feed returning to their pens and folds,
And those the kine in multitudes succeed;
One on the other rising to the eye,
As watery clouds which in the heavens are seen,
Driven by the south or Thracian Boreas;
And numberless along the sky they glide;
Nor cease; so many doth the powerful blast
Speed foreward; and so many, fleece on fleece,
Successive rise reflecting varied light.
So still the herds of kine successive drew
A far-extended line; and filled the plain
And all the pathways with the coming troop."

Throughout the whole of the Colony it is highly necessary to secure the herds and flocks at night, in folds or kraals fenced round generally with a strong hedge of *mimosa* or other thorny bushes. Here this precaution is doubly necessary, both on account of the roaming Caffers, and the great numbers and ferocity of the beasts of prey. A few days before, a lion had killed two horses near the house, and had bit the head completely off one of them. Espagh had lost fourteen horses, besides other cattle, within the last two years, by the lions, which are numerous and daring in this vicinity.

I slept this night in the outer apartment *(voor-kamer)* or sitting-room of the house, which was without a door; and was much annoyed by a number of large dogs running out and in continually all night, and making a dreadful clamour.

19.—Proceeded this morning about an hour before daylight with two fresh horses and a guide. The waggon road which goes up the right bank being obliged to follow the circuitous bends of the river, we left it

occasionally, and crossing the channel, cut off considerable angles by stretching athwart the country on the opposite side. These deviations, however, from the beaten track were not very safe nor comfortable, especially in the dark, when, besides the apprehension of encountering lions or Caffers in the intricate paths through the thorny jungles on the river bank, our horses were in continual danger of falling or breaking their legs, from the innumerable holes of ant-eaters, porcupines, and jackals with which large patches of country were perforated like a rabbit-warren. At daybreak we found ourselves surrounded by flocks of quaghas, ostriches, springboks, and other wild animals; and soon after, we came suddenly upon a numerous pack of jackals, not less than thirty in number, who scampered off very nimbly into the bushes. These last were a different species from what is commonly found near Cape Town, having a rougher fur and more bushy tail.

Saw on the opposite side, the confluence of the Little Fish River with the principal stream; and about 8 o'clock again crossed to the colonial side at the residence of Adrian de Langè, where I procured some refreshment. Here I learnt that the Caffers had carried off from this boor, on the 15th instant, thirty-two head of cattle; and parties of these plunderers were supposed to be still lurking in the neighbouring thickets. Continued our route through a brown and barren-looking country, except along the immediate course of the river, which consists of deep alluvial soil, thickly overgrown with mimosa trees. It was in this vicinity that the traveller Vaillant resided among the Gonaqua Hottentots, and romanced about the pretty Nerina.

This once numerous tribe, like many other Hottentot clans mentioned by earlier travellers, is now entirely extinct. The residue of the Gonaquas sought refuge among the Caffers a few years ago, and they are now finally incorporated with that people. In this vicinity we passed an old herdsman tending his master's flocks, who looked like the last of his race. He was not a Gonaqua, but he well remembered the days, he said, when that tribe and

his own were the masters of the country, and pastured their flocks and herds, or hunted the buffalo and the eland on the banks of the Fish River. Now the white men claim the entire property of the soil, and have even deprived the original possessors of the privilege of living *free* upon roots and game. They are accounted an inferior race, and born to servitude. They feel their degradation, but cannot escape from it: they are oppressed alike by the unjust regulations and the illiberal prejudices of the colonists. But happier times are now dawning upon them; and in the new arrangements about to be introduced, and the better code of laws soon to be conferred upon the Colony, the Hottentot race will find, I trust, that their case has not been overlooked by the beneficent Government of England.*

At noon, we unsaddled and rested our horses for an hour near the deserted military post of Van-Aards. It was on a hill opposite, that the

* The vignette at the head of this chapter, from a drawing by my friend Dr. Heūrtley, gives a very accurate and characteristic representation of an old Hottentot herdsman, such as I have mentioned above: and the following sonnet, by my friend Mr. Pringle, almost seems as if it had been intended for a motto to the drawing, though written in the interior of the Colony long before he had seen it. The coincidence is easily accounted for—both drew *from life*.

THE HOTTENTOT.

Mild, melancholy, and sedate he stands,
Tending another's flocks upon the fields—
His father's once—where now the white-man builds
His home, and issues forth his proud commands:
His dark eye flashes not; his listless hands
Support the boor's huge firelock; but the shields
And quivers of his race are gone: he yields,
Submissively, his freedom and his lands.
Has he no courage?—Once he had—but, lo!
The felon's chain hath worn him to the bone.
No enterprise?—Alas! the brand, the blow
Have humbled him to dust—his HOPE is gone.
"He's a base-hearted hound—not worth his food"—
His master cries;—"he has no *gratitude!*"

G. Thomson, Esq.r del.

THORNHILL, NEAR PORT FRANCER.

London, Publd by H. Colburn, June 1827.

insurgent boors in 1815 showed themselves in a strong body under the command of Piet Erasmus, and sent a summons to Captain Andrews to surrender the post to them; to which, in conjunction with Major Fraser, who had just arrived, he returned such a resolute reply, that, although he had only a handful of men, the cautious Africaners did not think it prudent to attack him.

A ride of about three hours farther across a more open country, pretty well clothed with grass, brought us to Somerset Farm, at the foot of the Boschberg ridge of mountains. This place is distant about fifteen miles from the course of the Great Fish River. It is watered by the stream called the Little Fish River; but the arable land, which lies in a sort of basin in the form of a horse-shoe, is not irrigated from the river, but from various fountains which issue from the steep woody kloofs of the Boschberg, the principal of which drives a large cornmill before it is brought upon the land. There is, however, not nearly enough of water to supply the whole extent of land under cultivation on this farm, which amounts to about 600 acres; but the greater part of the arable soil having been formed out of a swamp, which, though drained on the surface, is still full of springs and moisture underneath, it is seldom requisite, even in the hottest seasons, to irrigate more than the drier portions around the borders of this marshy basin.

The farm-house and offices are delightfully situated close to the foot of the mountain, which rises steep behind to the height of 2000 feet, most picturesquely diversified with hanging woods, rocks, and waterfalls; and seemingly supported at regular intervals, like the wall of a gothic cathedral, with narrow sloping buttresses covered with a smooth turf of the liveliest verdure. The garden is watered by a little brook, and contains a few fine orange trees, and a variety of other fruits. These trees are some of them of considerable age, having been planted by the boors who first occupied this fine country about sixty years ago. It was, I believe, at this very spot, or at a farm in its

immediate vicinity, then occupied by a family of the name of Prinsloe, that the Swedish traveller Sparrman resided some time in 1776; the banks of the Fish River in Agter-Bruintjes-Hoogte being the farthest limit attained either by Sparrman or Vaillant. A descendant of Sparrman's host, who occupied the farm adjoining to this, was the principal leader of the rebels in 1815, and was one of the five individuals executed in consequence of that foolish and criminal insurrection.

Somerset Farm, at the time I visited it, was an extensive Government establishment, under the superintendence of Mr. Hart, formerly adjutant of the old Cape Corps, assisted by Lieut. Devenish of the same corps, and Mr. J. Pringle, a practical farmer, from the Scotch party of settlers. The agricultural part of the concern was by no means the principal department. The supply of rations to the British settlers for two years after their arrival, and the provisioning of the troops on the frontier for several years past, was committed to this establishment. It was in fact rather a commissariat depôt than a farm; and the purchasing of cattle, sheep, and corn from the boors, and forwarding them as required to the various military posts, constantly occupied a great number of Hottentot herdsmen, and waggon drivers. Five or six English ploughmen and three or four mechanics, with a clerk or store-keeper, were the whole of the British population of the place, exclusive of the three superintendants and their families. The greatest activity and bustle appeared to pervade every part of the establishment; and even the languid Hottentots seemed here to emulate the ardour of Englishmen, as if they had caught a portion of the activity and enterprize for which the indefatigable Mr. Hart has been long distinguished.*

* In January 1825, Somerset Farm was established as the site of a new Drostdy of the same name, and the plan of an extensive village was laid down. At the public sale of the *erven*, or lots of ground for houses and gardens, there was great competition, owing to the concourse of purchasers from all parts of the eastern districts, especially from Albany; and the prices ran very high. The progress of building in the new village has, however, scarcely cor-

20.—Having spent the preceding evening very pleasantly in conversation with Mr. Hart, (who is a very meritorious man, and extremely well informed in regard to the capabilities of the eastern districts) I proceeded as usual at an early hour upon my journey. Leaving the course of the Great Fish River, I pursued the nearest route through the mountains to the village of Cradock. My road lay for about an hour along the foot of the Boschberg to the westward. We then struck into an opening of the mountains on the right, and following the course of the Little Fish River towards its source, passed many comfortable-looking farm-houses, at some of which I alighted and partook of a cup of coffee, or a dram *(soopie)* with the hospitable boors. These people I found generally to be in much more comfortable circumstances than their countrymen along the coast. They had generally substantial houses, and gardens well stocked with fruit-trees and vegetables: all of them had good bread, too, for their own consumption; and many had sold quantities of wheat to the Somerset establishment, the blight in the crops having been less destructive here than nearer the coast. Their gardens and corn-fields were all irrigated either from the river, or some of its tributary streams. This valley branches out as it ascends into a variety of glens and dells, almost all of which are inhabited and covered with herds of cattle and sheep. It is on the whole a fertile and populous district, and has been long settled, and comparatively little disturbed by the Caffer wars. It is known by the name of Zwagershoek, or "Brother-in-law's Corner."

At the Veld-Cornet, Paul Plessie's, I got fresh horses; and, pursuing my route through the devious windings of the mountains, again changed horses

responded with this eager desire to obtain property in it; for, by the latest accounts, not above a dozen private houses have been yet erected. The district of Somerset comprehends the whole of the Sub-Drostdy of Cradock, part of the Graaff-Reinet, and Albany districts, and the finest portion of the territory lately wrested from the Caffers beyond the Fish River.

at a boor's of the name of Malan. Soon after leaving the latter, I got upon the ridge which divides this *hoek* from another winding glen called Gannahoek. The latter, which runs down towards the Great Fish River, makes an extensive sweep round the other extremity of the Boschberg ridge. The mountains I now stood upon were of very considerable elevation, for I had been ascending, though gradually, all the way from Somerset. It took us nearly an hour to descend the steep declivity into the Gannahoek, and the sun sank down just as we reached the level plain extending to the banks of the Great Fish River. The country here again was of quite a different character from the grassy pastures of Somerset and Zwagershoek, being what they call *Karroo* soil, and covered with a short shrub much resembling heath. On this pasture, sheep and goats thrive better than even on the finest grass, and the greater part of the Cradock district, containing the best sheep-farms of the Colony, possesses this description of soil.

We continued our journey about three hours by moonlight, when coming to a respectable-looking farm-house, and understanding from my guide that I was still an hour's ride from Cradock, I rode up to the door and solicited lodgings. My request was instantly complied with, and I was welcomed in and invited to take my seat at a plentiful supper which was just serving up. My host, a jolly consequential-looking person, was, I found, a Mynheer Van Heerden, a *heemraad* and *kerkraad* of the district (i. e. a member of the district-court and a churchwarden), and who did justice to the reputation for hospitality still maintained by the farmers of this remote part of the Colony. I had travelled this day about fifty-six miles, the last thirty at full gallop on a hardy African pony, saddled for me fresh from the pasture. This would have killed almost any English horse, but the country breed of Cape horses is far more hardy than ours, and the grass less relaxing and approaching more to the character of hay ; so that upon a long journey,

although the horses seldom get any other food than what they can pick up while the traveller is resting, yet upon this scanty fare they carry on at a spirited canter the whole day long.

21.—After a cup of coffee with my host I proceeded, and passed through the village of Cradock without stopping. It contains about twenty houses with gardens and orchards, watered by irrigation from the Great Fish River. A decent-looking church was erecting. The country around is bleak and desolate, and presents no capabilities of improvement or of alteration from what it is—a heathy range for sheep and goats. The village contains a couple of small retail shops, or *winkels* as they are called, and two or three mechanics. The clergyman and one or two of the families in the village are English. It is supported merely by being the residence of the magistracy and the clergyman, which brings the inhabitants from very distant parts occasionally to visit it, and insures it a trifling share of small trade. The residence of the deputy landdrost is a farm-house fitted up for his accommodation about three miles distant, no drostdy-house and offices having been yet erected. To this place I proceeded, and met with a cordial welcome from the magistrate, Captain Harding, and his amiable lady.

After breakfast I went to see a hot mineral spring, about two miles distant: the thermometer when placed in it rose to about 86°. The taste of the water much resembled that of the Harrowgate or Gilsland Spa. It is resorted to for bathing in several complaints. It issues from the ground close to the bank of the Great Fish River, which is here but a small stream, being about two hundred miles from the sea. The ground in the vicinity is much impregnated with saltpetre, and I was informed by Captain Harding that considerable quantities of this substance in a pure state are to be found in the neighbouring mountains. Throughout all this quarter indeed of the Colony the soil is profusely impregnated with nitre, and in many places is even rendered barren by its superabundance. At no great distance from Cradock, near the Bamboo Mountains, there

are three salt lakes similar to those in the vicinity of Algoa Bay, from which the neighbouring colonists supply themselves with excellent salt.

I spent the day at the Deputy Landdrost's, and had much agreeable conversation with this intelligent officer, who had seen a great deal of service in different parts of the world; having been in Egypt with Abercromby, in Spain with Sir John Moore, in the deplorable expedition to Walcheren, in Sicily, Malta, &c. Yet in all his campaigns he told me he had never seen a more spirited little action than that at Graham's Town three years ago, when 10,000 Caffers stormed the town and barracks, which had only about 250 soldiers to defend them. For a considerable time, Capt. Harding declared he absolutely thought the savages would have gained the day; and had they possessed better arms than their slender missiles, the handful of troops certainly could not have withstood them. But at length they gave way, and some field-pieces being turned upon their encumbered masses, upwards of 1300 were left dead on the ground. They had been excited to this assault, and wrought up to a high pitch of enthusiasm by their prophet Makanna, (or *Lynx*, as the Dutch call him,) who on this occasion, it is said, assured his countrymen that his powers of magic would render the English troops an easy prey to them, and change the balls even of their destructive guns into water. An old Hottentot chief of the name of Boesak, who happened accidentally to be present at Graham's Town, greatly distinguished himself in repulsing the Caffers at the most critical moment of this assault, and obtained a high and deserved reputation for good conduct and intrepidity.

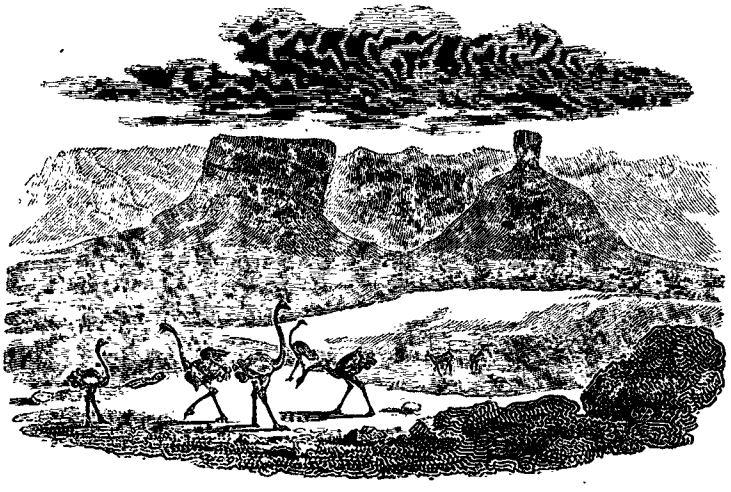
The sub-district of Cradock forms part of the extensive province of Graaff-Reinet, on which it is partly dependent; and the magistrate here, who transacts all business with the Colonial Office through his superior officer the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, is called Deputy Landdrost. Cradock district, though generally of a dry and desert aspect, is rich in sheep and cattle: and produces also by irrigation corn more than sufficient for the consumption of

its inhabitants. The boors here are generally thriving and affluent in stock, though few of them, perhaps, possess much money, or many of those comforts which in Europe we have accustomed ourselves to consider indispensable. The farms here, and indeed throughout all the frontier districts except Albany, are of the average extent of 6000 acres; this large extent only being considered a *full place.* But they are in general merely cattle farms, not above two or three acres probably of this large extent being on an average capable of culture; and even where a larger extent might be irrigated, the great distance from any market, and the precarious demand, will not admit of its being profitably cultivated. In general, therefore, the boors only raise corn for their own use, or to exchange in barter with such of their neighbours as have not the means of cultivating corn at all.

The blight or *rust*, though also prevailing here of late years, has never been so universal or inveterate as in Albany and other tracts along the sea-coast. Captain Harding himself cultivates, by means of an abundant spring, a large field of corn-land, and also a well-stocked garden and vineyard. From the latter he makes some very good wine for his own use, the best I had yet tasted of frontier manufacture. This farm, called Drie-Fonteyn, (Three Fountains) where he resides, had been formerly occupied by an extensive cattle boor, who had left a memorable monument of his residence in a prodigious dunghill just in front of the house. This had been the station of his cattle kraal, and the manure had accumulated in the shape of a solid mountain, which Captain Harding had for several years been exerting himself to reduce, though with but little apparent effect, by cutting it out in square pieces like peats, and erecting out of this material, extensive enclosures, and farm-yards. In the vicinity of London this mountain of manure would be worth many thousand pounds.

Capt. H. informed me that, desolate as the country looked, he could call out in six hours upwards of 1000 Burghers, armed and mounted, and

that he required nothing but a sufficient supply of ammunition to be perfectly prepared to repel any irruption of the native tribes upon his extensive frontier. At present the inhabitants were harassed chiefly by the hordes of wild Bushmen, who still infest the mountainous regions, which indeed may be said to be their native territory, and from which the colonists had in the first instance unrighteously expelled them. But it does not seem improbable that they may have some day a more formidable enemy to encounter on the north-eastern frontier. The Tambookie tribe of Caffers, indeed, who have for some time lived close upon this frontier along the banks of the River Zwart-Kei, have hitherto conducted themselves in the most quiet and inoffensive manner. But to the north and east of the Tambookie nation are other tribes, who seem to be in a state of commotion, and to be hostilely impelled upon the Colony by the warlike and marauding hordes beyond them. A few days before my arrival, three fugitives from some tribe, entirely unknown to the colonists, were found in the Tarka, and were made prisoners with some difficulty, and sent down to Cape Town. It was ascertained from them that they belonged to a remote country north from Tambookie land, from which they had been several moons in travelling; and that their country had been overrun and plundered by a numerous and fierce nation who press upon them from the north and east. I have got in my possession their weapons, which are merely assagais of a somewhat lighter construction than those of the Caffers. I shall hereafter revert to the discussion of the disturbances among the native tribes, and bring down the details I have collected respecting them to a more recent period.



CHAPTER IV.

JOURNEY OVER THE MOUNTAINS.—DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF GRAAFF-REINET.—THE LANDDROST STOCKENSTROM.—CONDITION OF THE SNEEUWBERG BOORS.—JOURNEY ACROSS THE SNEEUWBERG RIDGE TO THE NORTHWARD.

MAY 22.—Having been provided by Captain Harding with fresh horses and a guide, I proceeded towards Graaff-Reinet, to which my road now lay south-west over part of the Sneeuwberg range of mountains. The mountains in view were mostly of the tabular conformation, and some of them assumed very regular and curious shapes. I saw at a distance the

elevated peak called the Taay-Bosch-Berg, a singular hill resembling a cylinder placed upon a cone. The country through which I passed abounded with springboks and ostriches. At three o'clock, P. M. arrived at the Veld-Cornet, Van Wyk's, close under the Agter-Sneeuwberg, where I stopped for the night. I had still thus far the company of the Great Fish River, but it had now become a diminutive brook, its source being only a few miles distant from this place. I found the boors in this remote quarter extremely hospitable, but also exceedingly inquisitive—a circumstance perhaps not to be wondered at, when it is considered how seldom a visitor, especially an European, appears among them. The same questions were put to me at almost every place I came to:—"Who are you? Where do you come from?—Whither are you going?—What is your profession?—What is your age?—Are you married?" and a hundred other interrogations equally uninteresting to a weary traveller. This practice recalled to my mind the plan fallen upon by Dr. Franklin, when travelling in the United States, where the people are equally inquisitive. As soon as he arrived at a house he immediately called all the family together, and said, "I am Dr. Franklin, from New York, on my way to Philadelphia,"—adding all the other information he knew he must otherwise give by detail; by which means he obtained quietness for the rest of the evening. And this communicative system is so much more popular and preferable in every respect to the morose and dogged silence which many English travellers resort to when pressed by the familiar but good-natured interrogations of the colonists, that I often adopted it to a considerable extent. It is obvious, that while a stranger by his frankness thus gains the good graces of his hosts, he need not tell more of his private affairs than he thinks proper.

I was often much amused, too, by the curiosity and wonder of those rustics, when I placed my map, compass, and thermometer on the table, and proceeded to fill up my daily journal,—the whole household gathering

round me and staring, open-mouthed, as if I had been a magician, or astrologer.

This Veld-Cornet Van Wyk is in some respects superior to the generality of his countrymen, and had considerable merit in aiding the Landdrost Stockenstrom to arrest the progress of the insurrection in 1815. But he is, nevertheless, a bitter hunter of the Bushmen.

23.—Proceeded at an early hour, with a son of Van Wyk's for my guide. The morning was fair; but we saw about two miles ahead, upon the mountains which we had to cross, the driving of a snow-storm. On approaching the foot of the mountains we secured ourselves with our great coats and caps. The sun was yet shining brightly on us, while only a few hundred yards higher the storm raged in grand array, and produced a magnificent effect. We now began to ascend, and were soon enveloped in the rolling blast; and the drift was so dense, that we could scarcely discern our path. I was soon completely cased in snow, which I in some measure enjoyed, not having seen any, except at a great distance, during the last five years. As we approached the summit, the storm became more violent, and it was not without difficulty that we were enabled to proceed. My thermometer immediately fell to 32°.

Having at length passed the heights, we gradually gained, as we again descended, a more genial climate; and about noon arrived at Karel Okom's, where I found horses ready,—having sent forward a messenger from Van Wyk's to order them. The snow had now given way to rain, and I was already wet through; but finding no comfort in a *Vee-boor's* open house without a fire-place, in this cold region, I thought it best to proceed in my wet clothes; and accordingly set forward, after some slight refreshment.

While at this place, I heard that a *Commando* (or expedition of armed boors) had been recently out against the Bushmen in the mountains, where

they had shot thirty of these poor creatures. I also learned that above 100 Bushmen had been shot last year in the Tarka. This is certainly lamentable work, whatever be the cause of it,—that we should be under the necessity of hunting down our fellow-men like the wild beasts of the field. On this subject I shall have occasion to animadvert more particularly hereafter.

After travelling about five hours from Karel Okom's, always gradually descending, I reached the town of Graaff-Reinet just at nightfall. Captain Stockenstrom, the Landdrost, to whom I had letters of introduction, not being at home, I took up my lodgings at a Mr. Minaar's.

24.—I spent this forenoon in transacting some commercial business, and in surveying the town and its vicinity. In the course of the day, Capt. Stockenstrom returned home, and immediately sent me an invitation to the Drostdy, to which I accordingly shifted my quarters.

I had here the satisfaction of receiving letters from my relatives and friends in England, which in this remote quarter of the world, and previous to my proceeding farther into the interior, afforded me peculiar satisfaction.

25.—*This being Sunday, I attended divine service with the Landdrost's* family at the district church, and heard the Rev. Mr. Murray preach in Dutch to a numerous and attentive congregation. Mr. Murray, like all the late-appointed clergymen of the colonial establishment, is of the Church of Scotland, which in doctrine and discipline corresponds almost entirely with the Dutch Reformed communion.

26—29.—I spent these four days in Graaff-Reinet. This place is wonderfully improved since the days of Barrow, when it consisted merely of a few miserable mud and straw huts. It contains now about 300 houses, almost all of which are neat and commodious brick edifices;—many are elegant. The streets are wide, laid out at right angles, and planted with rows of lemon and orange trees, which thrive here luxuriantly, and give to the place

a fresh and pleasing appearance. Each house has a large allotment of ground behind it, extending in some instances to several acres, which is richly cultivated, divided by quince, lemon, or pomegranate hedges, and laid out in orchards, gardens, and vineyards. These are all watered by a canal from the Sunday River, which branches out into a number of small channels, and each inhabitant receives his due portion at a regular hour. This canal has been greatly improved, or rather constructed anew, on a much higher level, by the present Landdrost, who, by indefatigable exertion and entirely at his own risk, has carried it along the front of a rocky precipice, and by these means gained a large addition of arable ground, and a more certain and abundant supply of water. I was not a little surprised to find that this arduous task had been accomplished without even the aid of blowing irons or gunpowder, merely by kindling large fires upon the rocks, and when they were well heated, dashing buckets of water upon them. By this simple process immense blocks had been split, and rolled from the path of the water-course. This useful work, so essential to the prosperity of the town, was effected almost entirely by the labour of the convicted felons of the district under the immediate superintendence of the Landdrost.

The population of Graaff-Reinet, of all colours, amounts to about 1800 souls. The town is built in a sort of basin, almost encircled by the deep channel of the Sunday River, and closely environed by an amphitheatre of steep rugged mountains. This position, and the arid quality of the red Karroo soil, render it oppressively hot in summer. At that season, however, the atmosphere is sometimes agitated and cooled by violent thunder-storms, accompanied by heavy rains. In winter the weather is frequently rather cold, owing to the elevated situation of the country just at the foot of the Snow Mountains: but while I was there, the air was delightfully temperate, and the sky cloudless and serene.

Formerly, a considerable trade was carried on between this place and Cape

Town, by means of waggons, which crossed the Great Karroo (or Arid Desert) in the winter or spring, and returned before the summer heats had destroyed the vegetation and dried up the springs and rivers. By this road the Cape butchers still procure a large proportion of the sheep and cattle which are wanted for the use of Cape Town and the shipping in Table Bay. But of late years most of the merchandise required by Graaff-Reinet, which forms a sort of emporium for a large extent of country, is brought by coasters to Algoa Bay, and forwarded by waggons from that port. This reduces the land-carriage to about one-third of the distance through the Karroo.

This town owes much of its prosperity and embellishment to Captain Stockenstrom, who, though an African born, and educated entirely in the Colony, has been long distinguished as one of the most intelligent, enterprizing, and public-spirited magistrates which the Cape settlement has ever possessed; and his district, though far the most extensive, and the wildest in South Africa, is administered on a system at once mild and efficient; so that I found every where and among all classes his character respected and beloved. At Graaff-Reinet he had just established an agricultural society, to promote emulation and European improvements among his countrymen. On the recent appointment, too, of an English teacher for that district by Government,* he added 600 rix-dollars to his salary from his own pocket, in order to secure the opening of a class for the classics at the teacher's leisure hours. Besides this, he provides a salary of 400 rix-dollars to encourage a day-school for females, just opened here by the daughter of an English settler: and what seems to me no less worthy of notice than all this, he has lodged his private library, collected with much expense and difficulty, in one of the school-rooms, and rendered it accessible to every respectable person who in this remote quarter of the world may be disposed to avail himself of such a privilege. Many of

* A teacher of respectability has lately been sent by the home government to every Drostdy to teach the English language gratis to the inhabitants.

these circumstances I only became acquainted with after my departure from Graaff-Reinet, as Captain Stockenstrom's house, where I resided, was the last place where I was likely to hear them spoken of.

I now made arrangements for extending my excursion beyond the northern limits of the Colony, in which I was much facilitated by the fortunate coincidence of the Landdrost being about to proceed, on the 30th, to the Zeekoe River upon that frontier, in order to inspect lands to be granted to the boors. On this expedition he was to be accompanied by a land-surveyor and one of his heemraden, and by two waggons to carry tents and baggage, besides his travelling horse-waggon, in which he kindly offered me a seat. Without this friendly furtherance, I should have found it almost impossible to proceed through the Sneeuwberg Mountains at this season of the year, when the greater part of the farmers abandon their dwellings in that cold and stormy region, and retreat with their flocks and herds to spend the winter months in the more genial climate of the plains; returning again in the spring, when the melting of the snows leaves the mountains covered with vegetation.

A dispatch, which arrived on the 29th from Mr. Melvill, the government resident at Griqua-Town, mentioned, that some civil broils had arisen in his semi-barbarous community; and that gentleman strongly urged Captain Stockenstrom to send a commando against the party which he accounted disaffected; an application which, however, the Landdrost was too prudent to accede to. This information indicated that my journey through the wild and wandering hordes of the interior might not be unattended with difficulty, and perhaps some danger; but I determined to encounter these, rather than lose the present favourable opportunity of prosecuting an excursion on which I had long set my heart.

30.—Accordingly, the baggage-waggons having been dispatched at an early hour, the heemraad, land-surveyor, and myself, started at noon in the lighter vehicle, drawn by eight fine horses. The Landdrost, being detained by some urgent business, was to follow on horseback next morning. We winded

for some time up the valley of the Sunday River; then mounting the Sneeuwberg ridge by a long and steep ascent, in two hours more reached the place of a boor named Vandermerwe, where we stopped for the night, the bullock-waggons being still a-head of us. From this place I took a ride of about two miles before sun-set, to see a very fine waterfall, where a considerable stream dashes itself over a smooth ledge of rock about 200 feet perpendicular into a romantic glen.

The farm where we now stopped is named Modder-Fonteyn (Muddy Fountain), an appellation so common in the Colony, that I have visited, I believe, above a dozen places of that name. It is strange to observe the barrenness of fancy of the boors in giving names to places. In every quarter of the Colony we find *Brak Rivier*, *Zwart Rivier*, *Zeekoe Rivier*, *Palmiet Rivier*, *Baviaan's kloof*, and so forth; the appellation being given generally from some quality common to many places, and seldom with that nice and accurate discrimination which seizes the distinctive and peculiar features alone, and embodies them in the name. This may, perhaps, be ascribed in a great measure to the sameness and monotony of South African scenery: it, however, occasions much inconvenience and confusion to the traveller.

At this place I learned from the conversation between our host and my fellow-travellers, that we were approaching the haunts of the Bushmen; all the talk of the evening being about this unhappy race. There is considerable risk in travelling through the mountains, not only from the lurking Bushmen, but also from runaway slaves, who occasionally rush down and plunder the solitary traveller.

The farm-houses in the Sneeuwberg, and in most of the colder districts of the Colony, are usually of the following description.—The house resembles a large barn divided into two or three apartments. One of these is the kitchen, which also serves for the sitting and eating apartment. In the

others the family sleep; while, in the outer one already mentioned, visitors and travellers are accommodated with a rush mat, a feather-bed, and a coverlet spread on the clay floor. In this situation I have often enjoyed, after a fatiguing day's ride, the most balmy repose; while a swarthy train of slaves and Hottentots were moving round the embers of the fire, wrapped in their sheepskin mantles, and dogs, cats, and fowls, were trampling over my body. The more wealthy and long settled families, however, usually have the kitchen separate from their sitting-room. In such houses curtained beds, and other articles of decent furniture, are not unfrequently found; but the poorer classes are content with a few thong-bottomed chairs and stools, two or three waggon chests, and a couple of deal tables. At one of the latter sits the mistress of the house, with a tea-urn and chafing-dish before her, dealing out every now and then *tea-water*, or coffee, and elevating her sharp shrill voice occasionally to keep the dilatory slaves and Hottentots at their duty. In this same apartment is also invariably to be seen the carcase of a sheep killed in the morning, and hung up under the eye of the mistress, to be served out frugally for the day's provision as it may be required. The houses, being without any ceiling, are open to the thatch; and the rafters are generally hung full of the ears of Indian corn, leaves or rolls of tobacco, slices of dried meat, called *bill tongue*, &c. The last is a sort of ham from the muscular part of the thigh of the ox, or the larger species of antelopes; it is very convenient for carrying on journeys, and is found in the boor's houses in every part of the Colony. It is cut into very thin slices, and eaten with bread and butter, or with bread and the melted fat of the sheep's tail, which is a common substitute for butter: either way it is no contemptible dish when one is a little hungry, and many a time I have heartily enjoyed it.

A traveller, on arriving, if it does not happen to be meal-time, is always presented with a cup of tea, without sugar, milk, or bread; unless occasionally, when you may be favoured with a small piece of sugar-candy out of a

tin snuff-box, to be kept in your mouth to sweeten the bitter beverage as it passes. When their tea and coffee is exhausted, a succedaneum is found in roasted grain, prepared in the same way as Hunt's *radical coffee*, which, if not very palatable, is nevertheless a refreshment to a thirsty and weary traveller. They never think of asking you to eat, unless at meal-time; but then you are expected to draw in your chair, and help yourself, without invitation, in the same easy manner as one of the family. The dishes consist for the most part of mutton stewed in sheep's tail fat, or boiled to rags; sometimes with very palatable soup, and a dish of boiled corn, maize, or pumpkin. Cayenne pepper, vinegar, and a few home-made pickles, are also usually produced to relish the simple fare, which, served up twice a day, forms, with tea-water and the *soopie*, or dram of Cape brandy, the amount of their luxuries. In this quarter of the Colony, however, I found everywhere excellent bread; and, upon the whole, the farmers of Bruintjes-Hoogte and the Sneeuwberg appeared to be in much more independent and comfortable circumstances than those along the coast.

31.—Being moonlight, we proposed to proceed at three o'clock, A. M.; but a storm of snow and hail raging at that hour, we delayed *inspanning* till it had blown past, the horses being in the meanwhile put loose into an outhouse. At daybreak, however, we found that they had all disappeared. The boy who had charge of them had laid himself down across the open doorway, and soon falling fast asleep, the horses had escaped by stepping over his body. All our people were instantly dispatched in search of them; and it was soon discovered by their traces that they had gone off towards Graaff-Reinet. We waited with the peevish patience which travellers usually muster on such occasions, until one o'clock, when the Landdrost joined us; and two hours afterwards our messengers returned with them, having had to follow them to a farm within a few miles of the Drostdy, where they usually grazed.

At length, about half-past three o'clock, we got again in motion, and continued our journey long after nightfall, which at this season is about five o'clock, with a very brief twilight. Notwithstanding the darkness of the beclouded and boisterous night, it was surprising to see with what dexterity swarthy coachmen drove on at a great rate on a road scarcely discernible, and in many places narrow and broken by rocks and gullies. I really could not see the fore horses. Yet, on we dashed, one of our drivers holding the reins and guiding the horses, the other smacking and lashing them up with his gigantic whip. This driving would astonish the best coachman in England, and shake the nerves of even our first four-in-hand men, till they got accustomed to it.

After passing through a dismal ravine, which I found was the bed of a *riviertje* or rivulet, we reached a boor's house, where we took up our quarters for the night.

June 1.—This morning opened clear and frosty, and the air, free from vapours, was bracing, and gave an exhilaration to the spirits which I had not felt for some time, although the scenery around our road through these lofty regions looked bleak and uninteresting. At seven we took leave of our talkative, but hospitable host, who, by the bye, was in his own opinion, and that of his countrymen, a great doctor—in our's a great quack—but a mighty harmless sort of a fellow withal. As we proceeded we saw the lofty Compass-berg (or Spitskop) towering on our left. This mountain received its present appellation from the late Colonel Gordon, who estimated its height to be 6500 feet above the level of the sea. It is considered the highest point in the whole Colony, unless the Winterberg, on the eastern frontier, should be found, as some think, to equal or surpass it: the height of the latter has not yet been scientifically ascertained. From the Compass-berg, on the south side, flows the principal source of the Great Fish River; and on its north side is the source of the Zeekoe River, a large branch of the Gariep,

or Orange River; so that its waters flow equally into the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

After resting and feeding our horses at a farm-house named Zuur-plaatz, we proceeded over the highest part of the Sneeuwberg range, where we felt the air very keen and piercing; but the fleecy clouds rolling around the mountain peaks, and gilded by the declining sun, had a gorgeous and agreeable effect. From this part of the road we had a very extensive prospect. The Bambus-Bergen, or Bamboo mountains, and the country called New Hantam, which form the north-eastern extremity of the Colony, lay far to our right. A few days' journey from the Bambus-berg is the residence of one of the Tambookie chiefs, whose people frequently visit the colonists in that quarter, and live on friendly terms with them—unlike their Caffer countrymen near the coast.

In the course of the afternoon we overtook our bullock-waggons at the place of a rich boor,—whose entertainment, however, we found so indifferent, (unlike the frank hospitality of his countrymen in general,) that we preferred proceeding; and at sunset *outspanned* (unyoked) in the wilds, and pitched our tent, with a large fire in front of it, which kept us tolerably comfortable. The night was starlight but very cold. We had eight Hottentots in our party, who seemed to enjoy the fire exceedingly; and it was pleasing to see them smoking, and cracking their jokes all the evening, unchecked by the presence of their masters. At nine o'clock we retired to sleep in the tent, the Hottentots stretching themselves, wrapped up in their sheepskin *carosses* (blankets), around the fire.

CHAPTER V.

LIONS.—DESERTED DWELLINGS.—ZEEKOE RIVER.—BUSHMEN.—BACK SETTLERS.—THE CRADOCK RIVER.

At break of day we found the country covered with a thick white rime, or hoar frost, and the ice on the pools half an inch thick. At this time the thermometer stood at 26°, six degrees below the freezing point. After refreshing ourselves with a cup of warm coffee, we proceeded. Passed a boor's place, where an immense dunghill had been set on fire, as the only mode of removing it. It had already been burning for nine months, and would yet require double that period to burn out. An instance was mentioned to me of one of those masses of manure which had burned for seven years!

Since passing the heights of the Sneeuwberg we had been continually descending. Our road now followed the course of the Zeekoe River—as yet only a rill, with scarcely any stream in it. The country gradually became more open, and the plains spread out covered with game. At noon we overtook the bullock-waggons which we had dispatched, as usual, several hours before we started ourselves in the morning. The horse-waggon travels at the average rate of six miles per hour, while the ox-waggon only goes at half that rate, or a little more if the road is good and level.

When we had *outspanned* at mid-day, and were busy cooking a mutton chop for dinner, we were startled by the appearance of two lions, which pass-

ing within 400 yards of the waggons, proceeded to a neighbouring height that overlooked our encampment, and there lay down and gazed at us. This was the first sight I had had of those magnificent animals roving in power and freedom over their native plains. During our repast we kept a watchful eye upon them, having our fire-arms all ready for action in case of an attack. They remained, however, perfectly quiet, and in about an hour we proceeded, leaving them undisturbed.

The lions in this quarter of the Colony are often very destructive to the property of the farmers, especially to horses, of which they appear to be particularly fond. They are, therefore, often hunted by the boors in self-defence, and the following is the method described to me as usually pursued:

Ten or twelve colonists, mounted, and armed with their large guns, go out; and having, with the assistance of their dogs or Hottentots, ascertained where the spoiler lies, approach within a moderate distance, and then alighting, make fast the horses to each other by their bridles and halters. They then advance to within about thirty paces, backing the horses before them, knowing that the lion will not spring till within half that distance, and being aware from his aspect and motions whether he is likely to anticipate their attack. As they advance, the lion at first surveys them calmly, and wags his tail as if in a pleased or playful humour; but when they approach nearer, he begins to growl, and draws his hind parts under his breast till almost nothing of him is seen except his bushy bristling mane, and his eyes of living fire gleaming fiercely from the midst of it. He is now fully enraged, and only measuring his distance, in act to spring upon his audacious assailants. This is the critical moment, and the signal is given for half the party to fire. If they are not successful in killing him at the first volley, he springs like a thunderbolt upon the horses. The rest of the party then pour in their fire upon him, which seldom fails to finish his career, though, perhaps, with the

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loss of one or more horses; and sometimes, though more rarely, some even of the huntsmen are destroyed in these dangerous encounters.

As we proceeded along the plains gently declining from the Sneeuwberg, we discovered thousands of antelopes, quaghas, and gnoos.* This was the first time I had seen the last-named curious animal, which has been minutely described by Barrow, Lichtenstein, and Burchell. Hundreds of them were now playing round us, and ever and anon a troop of these fantastic animals would join a herd of quaghas, and all bound off helter-skelter across the plains, throwing up clouds of dust from the arid ground, which is here quite a karroo, and miserably parched and poor. The numbers and variety of the game formed, indeed, the only feature of animation and interest throughout this desolate region. Among the antelopes I observed a species only found in this quarter, and called the *bles-bok*. It much resembles the *bonte-bok*, which is found in the vicinity of Swellendam.

Since leaving Graaff-Reinet, I had not observed a tree or bush; the country both in the Sneeuwberg and the northern plains being altogether naked and sterile-looking. The farmers suffer much from the scarcity of fuel in these barren regions, and are obliged to burn either some very small shrubs, or the dry dung of their cattle. The feathered tribes seemed also to have deserted these barren and shelterless tracks. I saw only a few of the larger and more hardy species, such as the ostrich; the *pouw*, which is a sort of large bustard, and very delicate eating; the *korhaan*, a smaller sort of bustard, also prized by epicures; cranes, Namaqua partridges, and white-necked crows.

After a journey of about forty miles this day, we reached a boor's resi-

* The two latter animals are accurately represented in the annexed plate, with other varieties of wild game, scattered over the plains, and the curious mountain called Bushman's Kop, in the background. The Quagha (or Quagga,) is the wild ass of South Africa.

dence, at a place called Elands-Kloof. The house was locked up and deserted; the family having gone, like many other inhabitants of the higher country, to spend their winter with their flocks and herds in the more genial climate down the Zeekoe River. We took the liberty, however, of breaking into the house, and took up our quarters there for the night. We found a large quantity of the herb called *dacha*, a species of hemp, hung up on the rafters. The leaves of this plant are eagerly sought after by the slaves and Hottentots to smoke, either mixed with tobacco or alone. It possesses much more powerfully stimulating qualities than tobacco, and speedily intoxicates those who smoke it profusely, sometimes rendering them for a time quite mad. This inebriating effect is in fact the quality for which these poor creatures prize it. But the free use of it, just like opium, and all such powerful stimulants, is exceedingly pernicious, and gives the appearance of old age in a few years to its victims. It is, therefore, the more extraordinary, that the whites, who seldom use the *dacha* themselves, should cultivate it for their servants. But it is, I believe, as an inducement to retain the wild Bushmen in their service, whom they have made captives at an early age in their commandoes,—most of these people being extremely addicted to the smoking of dacha.

3.—This morning was very cold. On looking back towards the Sneeuwberg, we perceived that all the mountains were covered with snow, and congratulated ourselves on having got through with fair weather. After breakfast, prosecuted our journey through the same description of country as formerly, and frequented by the same sort of animals. Passed the skeletons of several gnoos and quaghas which had recently fallen victims to the lions. The country still declining towards the north with many insulated hills dispersed over it. These appeared often so close in front, that there seemed no passage except over a ridge of mountains, yet on approaching, we always found that they stood quite detached, the plain spreading around

and between them, while they rose abrupt and separate, like sugar-loaves placed upon a table.

At noon, reached a deserted boor's house, where we outspanned to refresh. Near this we discovered a Bushman and his family in a small hut of rushes. These were some of the race who live on friendly terms with the colonists. They were miserable, poor-looking objects, being almost entirely destitute of clothing, in these cold regions, which scarcely afford even the means of kindling a fire to warm them. They seemed not to be in the boor's service, but enjoying their freedom undisturbed. The man had just killed a gnoo with his poisoned arrows. The part pierced by the arrows he had cut out and thrown away; the rest of the carcase he and his family had carried to their hut, and were busy feasting on it.

We were now fast approaching the country of these bandit tribes, or rather we were at present traversing wilds from which they had been partially expelled by the gradual encroachments of the colonists towards the north. Of their astonishing powers of sustaining hunger Captain Stockenstrom mentioned a remarkable instance to me. He had once found a Bushman in the wilderness, who had subsisted *fourteen days* without any other sustenance than water and salt. The poor creature seemed almost exhausted, and wasted to skin and bone, and it was feared that if allowed to eat freely, he might injure himself. However, it was at length agreed to let him have his own way, and before many hours had elapsed, he had nearly eat up half the carcase of a sheep. Next day the fellow appeared in excellent plight, and as rotund as an alderman. These people appear, indeed, to have acquired from habit, powers of stomach similar to the beasts of prey, both in voracity, and in supporting hunger. But I shall have occasion to revert again to their condition more fully.

In the evening we reached another boor's house, also deserted, into which, as usual, we admitted ourselves without ceremony, and made good

our quarters for the night. I now saw clearly, how unpleasant, if not impracticable, it would have been for me to travel alone through such a country, deserted at this season by the few civilized inhabitants who occupy it, and on whose hospitality and assistance I must have been in a great measure dependent. My good fortune in reaching Graaff-Reinet, just in time to accompany Captain Stockenstrom was, therefore, most satisfactory. In the evening it blew a storm attended with sleet and rain.

4.—Found another Bushman family at our *outspann*, apparently not so well supplied with food as the one we last met.

This day at noon, passed Plettenberg's Baaken, a stone erected by the Dutch governor of that name to mark the limits of the Colony in this direction. But this boundary has long been passed over. Near to this spot resided the Veld-Cornet Vanderwalt, whose house, or rather hut, we reached at two o'clock. This being the extent of Captain Stockenstrom's excursion for the present, we outspanned for the night.

We had hitherto been travelling on the east side of the Zeekoe River, but here we crossed. It was still an inconsiderable stream, but standing here and there in large pools, or as the colonists call them, *Zeekoe-gats*, deep enough to float a man-of-war. About thirty-five miles below this place it falls into the *Cradock*, which is one of the principal branches of the Gariep. The confluence of the Cradock with the latter is about one hundred miles farther down.

At Vanderwalt's we found a number of the Sneeuwberg boors, who retire to this quarter during the winter season. Some were also assembled here to accompany the Landdrost on the surveys he was going upon; and many others to make applications for grants of the places they already occupy.

It is the practice of the boors here, when one of them wants a farm, to proceed beyond the nominal boundary of the Colony, and take possession

of the choicest situation he can find in the Bushman country. This they notify to the landdrost, forwarding, at the same time, a memorial through him to the governor, praying for a grant of the farm. This memorial is remitted to the landdrost to be reported upon, &c. and in the mean time the boor is generally allowed to retain the occupation under the title of a "request place." The great ambition which the African colonists have to see all their children settled upon "full places," that is, farms of 6000 English acres in extent, is very detrimental to the improvement of the Colony; inducing the population to spread itself out much beyond its competent means of occupation, and habituating them to a lazy, wandering, nomade life,—content to subsist on mere animal food, rather than by regular industry to earn a comfortable livelihood as mechanics. At the same time it is also true, that in this quarter of the Colony but few of the large farms could be with any advantage subdivided, the country being so arid, and water so scarce, that 6000, or even 10,000 acres of land are frequently not supplied with water more than sufficient for one family; and large tracts of good pasture (or what is called good in South Africa) are often entirely useless from the total want of water in their vicinity.

The want of timber is also a great drawback to the settlers here. I had not seen a tree, nor even a bush large enough to supply a walking-stick, since we left the banks of the Sunday River, near Graaff-Reinet. For fuel the inhabitants are forced to use dried cow-dung. Timber, for building and other purposes, they procure with much labour, and of indifferent quality, from the Cradock River, about forty miles distant. In consequence of this, and of the wild and wandering life which most of them lead, their dwellings are extremely small, and chiefly occupied by their valuables, the people themselves passing most of their time in the open air. Many are even destitute of a hut, and live entirely in their waggons. The climate favours this sort of life, being very dry and salubrious, and considerably milder than in the

mountains. No rains fall except in the summer months, and these not regular, but proceeding from passing thunder-clouds. Enough falls, however, to nourish the hardy pasturage with which the country is covered; and this pasturage is salubrious and capable of supporting a great quantity of stock. Some boors here, living in the rude way I have described, possess 10,000 sheep and goats, and 1500 or 2000 head of cattle. Others are comparatively poor, and are anxious to spare their scanty flocks by hunting the wild game for subsistence for their families and servants; the latter not unfrequently eating the flesh of the quagha or wild ass. These boors are a very hospitable, but at the same time a boisterous and unpolished class of people. The men are tall and athletic; the women also are usually of a goodly size, and on the whole rather good-looking.

This morning I was busied with preparations to prosecute my journey alone into the wilderness. Captain Stockenstrom, finding me determined to proceed farther North, pressed me with the most urgent kindness to accept of his waggon and two Hottentots, as far as the ford in the Cradock River, about two days journey from this place; and at the same time he ordered a Veld-Cornet also to accompany me thither with four good horses,—with which, and one Hottentot, I was to launch myself into the wilds. The friendly solicitude of Captain Stockenstrom to facilitate my journey evinced a degree of kindness, which, on so brief an acquaintance, I was quite unprepared to expect, and which I shall ever remember with gratitude. He provided me, moreover, with a pass, and an official order addressed to all the Veld-Cornets and other colonists of his extensive district, to provide me with horses, guides, and every other assistance which I might require on my return into the Colony by a different route.

5.—At sunrise I bade adieu to Captain S. and my two other agreeable and obliging fellow-travellers, and set off in the eight-horse carriage, attended

by the cavalcade of two boors, two Hottentots, and the four led horses for my future use.

The country preserved the same monotonous aspect, relieved only by the appearance of the wild animals scattered over its surface. As we proceeded, however, the soil looked more fertile, and was covered with fine grass; and the detached hills, diminished in size and number, having the odd and regular appearance of hay-ricks scattered over a level meadow.

In two hours we passed Biscuit-Fonteyn, and in two hours more Hamel-Fonteyn (Wether Fountain). At both these places I found a number of boors, from the Sneeuwberg, with their families and flocks. They were very anxious to know who, and what I was, and whither I was bound. On learning that I was going to cross the Great River and the Bushman Country with a single Hottentot, they expressed their astonishment, and their apprehensions that I should either be destroyed by the Bushmen or devoured by the lions. Some of them urgently entreated me to give up thoughts of it and turn back; but having fully made up my mind on the subject, I was not much moved by such representations. I had, however, had some hopes, previously, of persuading a boor or two to accompany me; but such expectations were soon abandoned, when I came to talk with them, and found them to be so timorous and unenterprising.

I was told here that a lion had just killed an ox, and been shot in the act. It is the habit of the lion, it seems, when he kills a large animal, to spring upon it, and, seizing the throat with his terrible fangs, to press the body down with his paws till his victim expires. The moment he seizes his prey the lion closes his eyes, and never opens them again until life is extinct. The Hottentots are aware of this; and on the present occasion, one of the herdsmen ran to the spot with his gun, and fired at the lion within a few yards distance, but from the agitation of his nerves entirely

missed him. The lion, however, did not even deign to notice the report of the gun, but kept fast hold of his prey. The Hottentot reloaded, fired a second time, and missed; reloaded again, and shot him through the head. This fact, being well authenticated, seemed to me curious and worthy of being mentioned.

At noon left Hamel-Fonteyn, and after five hours hard driving we reached Rhinoster-Fonteyn (Rhinoceros Fountain), where we found a small hut occupied by boors, the last wanderers from the Colony, with their numerous flocks. The climate here was much warmer, and the country more expanded and pleasing, than any part I had yet seen on our route from Graaff-Reinet.

The principal boor residing here was named Vanderwalt. He had been wounded about thirty years ago by a Bushman's arrow, and although the poison had not been strong enough to prove fatal, it had inflicted an incurable wound, which to this day gives the old man, now about eighty years of age, excruciating pain.

These farms lie so near the wild Bushmen that the inhabitants are all extremely watchful and well armed; guns, indeed, seemed almost the only furniture of their cabins.

Understanding that a *Kraal* or horde of Bushmen was close by, the inhabitants of which were on good terms, or partly in the service of the colonists, I set off with some of the boors to visit them. A set of beings in more miserable plight I could scarcely have conceived; they were nearly destitute of any sort of clothing, crouching together under a few thorn bushes, which formed but a poor defence from the chill night blast; nevertheless they seemed in excellent spirits, and instantly commenced begging tobacco, which they are immoderately fond of, and will do almost any thing to procure. They exhibited several feats to me, and gave me ocular proof

of the accuracy of their aim, and the great distance to which they can shoot their slender but dangerous arrows.

These poor creatures subsist chiefly upon certain wild bulbs which grow in the plains, and also upon locusts, white ants, and other insects. The bulbs and ants they dig up by means of a hard pointed stick, with a piece of stone fixed on its head to give it sufficient impetus. Living on friendly terms with the boors, and doing little services occasionally, they also come in for the offals of the cattle killed for food, and of wild game which their patrons sometimes shoot for them. This miserable fare, with a supply of tobacco, and a few sheep-skins, satisfies all the wants of these degraded beings.

In the evening a small tent was pitched for me near the boor's little cabin. Four or five large fires were kindled near the kraals, partly to warm the slaves and Hottentots who slept around them in the open air, and partly to scare the beasts of prey from approaching the kraals. The flaming of these fires, the people moving round them, their wild laughter mingling with the lowing of the oxen, and the bleating of four or five thousand sheep, had altogether a striking effect.

In the course of the evening I learned that one of the boor's wives had been safely delivered of a stout boy. In these affairs the South African females seem to require very little assistance or care. Medical aid is of course out of the question.

6.—Proceeded on my journey, and having now got beyond the remotest colonists, I soon passed several Bushman Kraals, and saw numbers of Bushwomen on the plains digging up roots in the manner I have mentioned. This is all they have to subsist upon, except where now and then the men succeed in killing game with their poisoned arrows, or in destroying still more rarely the larger antelopes, or the hippopotamus, on the banks of

the Cradock River, by pits dug in the ground, with a sharp stake fixed in them. Some of the women on the plains seemed to evade us, others approached to beg tobacco.

This day and the preceding, my course being across the wilds, where there was no beaten track, the motion of the waggon was very unpleasant, jolting over the grassy tufts and irregular ground; and occasionally we ran no small risk of being overset by the excavations of the great ant-eater, which were sometimes sufficiently large to admit a man and horse into them. Captain Stockenstrom mentioned to me that a friend of his once owed his life to one of these holes. He and Captain S. were hunting gnoos on the plains, and one having been wounded by a musket-ball, (in which condition these animals are very furious,) it gave chase to the gentleman, and was gaining fast upon him, when all at once he disappeared by tumbling into an ant-eater's hole which was concealed by long grass. There he lay for some time secure from the enraged animal, which, after searching for him in vain, scampered off in another direction; nor could Captain S., who was galloping up to his assistance, conceive what had become of him, until he saw, to his great satisfaction and amusement, his head cautiously emerging from the bowels of the earth.

About two o'clock we reached the bank of the Cradock River. It was at this place about 400 yards broad, and gliding down with a steady current. The banks were lined with fine willow-trees, which hung gracefully bending over the stream; and altogether it was a magnificent and beautiful scene, and doubly impressive from the contrast presented by such a body of fresh water, to the parched and dreary deserts through which I had lately passed. I had some debate with the boors as to the practicability of fording it, of which they seemed doubtful, from its discoloured and swollen appearance. I was determined, however, to make the attempt, and after taking some refreshment I

got ready, and mounted with my Hottentot, Frederick, he leading one spare horse, and I another. On entering the stream we found it was about four feet deep, and it continued nearly the same the whole way across—just low enough to allow the horses to keep their feet, running at the same time with considerable force. On nearing the opposite bank we found our horses put to their strength, owing to the heavy sand, or rather quicksand, with which the bottom was lined. However, by great exertion, they carried us safe through. Our escort on the southern side were watching us all the while with great anxiety, and as soon as we were fairly through we gave them three cheers, which they cordially returned. They then turned back towards the Colony, and Frederick and I pursued our solitary way to the northward.

CHAPTER VI.

DESERTED GRIQUA HAMLET.—PERILS OF THE WILDERNESS.—LIONS.—ESCAPE FROM DROWNING.—YELLOW RIVER.—KORANNAS.

FREDERICK had been informed that a party of *Griquas* (or Hottentots of the mixed or bastard race) resided not far from the ford where we had just crossed; and I directed him to lead me to their Kraal,—being desirous of acquainting myself with the condition of this class of people, and willing besides to shelter ourselves in the dwellings of human beings, however rude, rather than be exposed in the wilderness by night to the beasts of prey.

The country we had now entered upon was very different from the dry and naked deserts we had lately traversed. The magnificent windings of the Cradock were full in view; and to the west and north-west an extensive and almost boundless landscape opened out, adorned with thickets, and enlivened with multitudes of large game. Turtle doves, wood-pigeons, eagles, and

others of the feathered tribes, were likewise seen in great numbers. While contemplating these agreeable objects, we were speedily recalled to less pleasant reflections, by observing the fresh traces of lions and Bushmen,—neither of which, in present circumstances, we had any inclination to encounter.

At sunset we reached the expected station, or hamlet, to which Mr. Campbell, the missionary traveller, has given the Scriptural name of *Ramah*, but were not a little disappointed to find it totally deserted, and only the miserable ruins of four or five huts left. Of the two best of these we immediately took possession; and having kindled a fire in one, we made it our kitchen and sleeping-room; in the other we secured our horses, after having let them graze till it grew dark. Beside the latter, too, we kindled a large fire, to prevent the lions from carrying them off in the night.

Near the huts we found a fountain of excellent water. But another consideration now claimed our anxious attention:—it was still a long distance to Griqua Town, and I had brought no supply of provisions, having calculated upon meeting with Griqua or Koranna Kraals,* and on procuring from them flesh and milk. However, upon questioning the Hottentot, I found that he had been somewhat more provident than myself, having in his wallet a couple of small loaves and a sausage, which he had intended for this day's consumption. This slender supply we were now obliged to husband with care.

After supper we sat ruminating on our forlorn situation, and I found my guide already quite chopfallen: and not altogether without cause; for it appeared that he was entirely ignorant of the road, and had depended upon the Griquas he expected to meet here, to direct him. He had indeed been at Griqua Town some years before with a missionary's waggon, but he had either now forgotten the road (track there was none), or pretended to have forgot-

* The Dutch word *Kraal*, as used in the colony, has three different significations:—A string of beads, a cattle fold, and a native horde or encampment.

ten it, to induce me to return. He told me, moreover, that I had acted very imprudently in coming into this wilderness without more company. Though vexed by this awkward explanation in the midst of a desolate and unknown country, and somewhat irritated by his presumption in blaming my conduct, yet I saw the necessity of suppressing my feelings, lest I should lose him altogether: so I assumed a gay air, laughed at his apprehensions, and told him I would myself find the way by my map and compass, which I displayed to him. My assumed composure soon restored his confidence; and, chatting pleasantly together, we heaped more fuel on the fires, and then laid ourselves down to sleep; having previously inspected our guns, and put them in proper trim in case we should have occasion to use them in the night. But, though somewhat disturbed by the wild animals assembling at the fountain to drink, we were left unmolested, and a little before day we turned out our horses to graze before we proceeded.

7.—At sunrise we left the desolate station of Ramah, and having now little dependence on my guide, I determined to steer our route towards Griqua Town, partly by the compass and partly by keeping near the course of the Cradock River, which I knew joined another large branch called the Yellow River, and that these had their confluence at no very great distance from Griqua Town. My previous intention had been to recross the Cradock about a day's journey further down, and then cross the united streams (which form the Orange River or Gariep) at Read's Drift, from whence the road leads straight to Griqua Town. Frederick's ignorance of the country now rendered a more intricate and circuitous route indispensable.

Soon after leaving Ramah, we again approached the river, at a place where there is a curious rapid, occasioned by the whole body of water being compressed into a narrow defile between rocks. The eddies and whirlpools produced by the force of the stream, had formed cavities in the rocks resembling large cauldrons, in which were a number of round stones continually

in motion; these cavities being in fact formed by the attrition of the stones, especially when the river is flooded, as it always is for several months during the summer.

The river soon afterwards taking an extensive sweep to the westward, I steered our course over a sandy plain, bushy in some places, but entirely destitute of water. Of this we soon felt the want, the weather being very warm; and before mid-day we became quite faint with heat and thirst. At noon we unsaddled on a rising ground, to refresh the horses; but there was no appearance of water, and scarcely a bush at this spot to shelter us from the scorching sun. The heat in the shade by the thermometer was nearly 80°. What a contrast to the chilly Sneeuwberg which I had so lately left! I was not able to eat my small morsel of food on account of thirst, although I had not yet broken my fast. I had two bottles of brandy in my holsters, but I could only taste it, and would now most willingly have exchanged the whole for one glass of water.

In an hour we remounted, and proceeded on our course, over extensive plains, sprinkled with numerous herds of game—quaghas, elands, gnoos, koodoos, hartebeests, gemsboks, and smaller antelopes, the movements of which helped to relieve our lonely journey. The gnoo here was of a larger size, and apparently different from that on the other side of the Cradock, being of a dark blue colour, and having a black bushy tail, instead of a white one. I observed also two sorts of hartebeests.

As we travelled along, I observed my Hottentot continually looking out for the *spoor* (track) of human feet, being exceedingly anxious to get to some kraal before night: but the only tracks he could discover were those of the wild animals abovementioned, and of their pursuer, the lion. The footprints of the latter were so frequent and so fresh, that it was evident these tyrants of the desert were numerous and near to us. Frederick also remarked to me, that wherever such numbers of the large game were to be seen, we

might be certain lions were not far distant. The numerous skeletons of animals scattered over the plain, presented sufficient proofs of the justness of our apprehensions, and these were soon confirmed by ocular evidence. We were jogging pensively along, the Hottentot with two horses, about ten yards before me,—I following with the other two: Frederick was nodding on his saddle, having slept little, I believe, the preceding night. In this posture, happening to cast my eyes on one side, I beheld with consternation two monstrous lions reclining under a mimosa bush, within fifteen yards of our path. They were reclining lazily on the ground, with half-opened jaws showing their terrific fangs. I saw our danger, and was aware that no effort could save us if these savage beasts should be tempted to make a spring. I collected myself, therefore, and moved on in silence; while Frederick, without perceiving them, rode quietly past. I followed him exactly at the same pace, keeping my eyes fixed upon the glaring monsters, who remained perfectly still. When we had got about seventy or eighty yards from them, I rode gently up to Frederick, and, desiring him to look over his shoulder, showed him the lions. But such a face of terror I never beheld, as he exhibited on perceiving the danger we had so narrowly escaped.* He was astonished, too, that he had not previously observed them, being, like most of his countrymen, very quick-sighted. He said, however, that I had acted very properly in not speaking nor evincing the least alarm while passing the lions; for, if I had, they would probably not have let us pass so quietly. Most likely, however, we owed our safety to their hunger being satiated,—for they appeared to have been just devouring some animal they had killed; a quagga,—as it seemed to me from the hurried glance I had in passing.

Redoubling our speed, in about an hour afterwards we discovered a fountain, where we and our horses quenched our raging thirst. Thus refreshed,

* The prefixed vignette is drawn from the recollection of this scene.

we pushed on, and about four o'clock obtained a distant view of the Cradock river, but remote from the course it was necessary for us to keep. We continued to observe numerous traces of lions, and began to look forward with some anxiety for a place of rest during the night. In passing down a valley, we came upon a chain of deep pits dug right across it, and adroitly concealed by reeds slightly strewed over with sand. Fortunately some of them had been recently broken down, otherwise we should most likely have fallen into them, and been impaled on the sharp stakes fixed in their centre. These are contrivances of the Bushmen or Korannas, to entrap the larger game.

About 5 P. M. we fell in with another fountain; but, as there was no wood near us, we were forced reluctantly to proceed, after filling with water one of my bottles, out of which I poured the brandy to make room for it. Our situation now began to be very unpleasant. No wood was to be seen as far as the eye could reach; and without fire we should run imminent risk of losing our horses in the night by the hyænas and lions; and might not improbably fall a prey ourselves. As we galloped on in this anxious mood, the sun seemed descending with unusual speed. Not a bush appeared over the naked surface of the desert. At length, just as the day was closing, and the sun already sunk below the horizon, we reached a rising ground, and discovered, close at hand, a clump of camel-thorn trees (*acacia giraffæ*) a species of mimosa, with beautiful branching top, spreading like an umbrella. No time was now to be lost. Our horses were hastily *knee-haltered* (i. e. tied neck and knee to prevent their running off) and turned to graze till the night closed in; while Frederick and I set eagerly about collecting wood to make fires for our protection. Having chosen our resting-place under a large camel-thorn, we lighted one huge fire there, and others at a little distance on our flanks, front, and rear. I then began to feel

somewhat more comfortable; and overhauling our wallet, we found a small piece of coarse bread and sausage remaining, which Frederick and I divided. With this short allowance, a glass of brandy, and a grateful draught from the bottle of water which I had providently brought from the last fountain, I made my breakfast, dinner, and supper all at once, with a good appetite.

Our horses, which we had tied up within a few yards of us, seemed to enjoy our company, lying down with the greatest confidence near our fire. Poor animals! we had rode them above fifty miles this day, and as far on each of the two preceding, so that they stood in great need of rest; and during the journey they had seldom had an opportunity of feeding.

The ground here I found covered with nitrous particles like a hoar-frost. Such a couch is considered, I believe, rather dangerous to sleep upon. In India, as I have heard, it often proves fatal to the weary traveller, lying down never more to rise. The soil was also sprinkled with the seed of a plant covered with prickles, making it very unpleasant to sit or lie down. These seeds are jocularly called by the colonists *dubbeltjes* (twopenny-pieces). Making my bed, however, as comfortable as circumstances admitted, I wrapped myself in my great coat, with my saddle as usual for my pillow, and my loaded gun by my side. We knew pretty well that the fires were sufficient to scare off the lions, but we had some fears of the crafty hyæna attempting a snatch at our horses. Nor were we altogether without apprehension of the Bushmen, some of whose traces we had seen during the day.

As I lay thus beside our watch-fire, I could not avoid some sombre reflections upon my present forlorn predicament, uncertain of our route, and surrounded by savage hordes, and ravenous beasts of prey. The

flashing of our fires only added to the gloominess of the scene, making the heavens appear a vault of pitchy darkness; nor was there any kind moon to cheer our solitude. Thus ruminating, I unconsciously gave utterance to my feelings—lamenting the uncertainty of our situation, and how unfortunate it was that we did not know our road better. This stung poor Frederick, who with much emotion exclaimed—"Oh! that I had wings like a bird, that I might fly and bring from the landdrost a better guide than I have been!" Finding him in this disconsolate mood, which was not unmixed with terror for his own safety, I changed the subject, spoke to him cheerfully, and committing my safety to Providence, I turned myself to sleep. After enjoying a couple of hours' refreshing repose, I was awakened by the shrieking of the jackals. I rose and replenished the fires with fresh fuel, and after smoking a segar, again addressed myself to sleep. Frederick expressed his surprize at my composure in falling asleep in such a hazardous position. For his part, poor fellow! he was too much alarmed to sleep, and comforted himself with smoking away the principal part of the night, a pipe being the Hottentot's usual solace in all his distresses.

8.—We hailed the first dawn of morning with no common pleasure, and with feelings of thankfulness for our safe preservation through the dreary watches of the night. On looking round our station, we perceived, by the fresh traces of lions and hyænas, that numbers of these ferocious animals had been prowling round within two hundred yards of us during the darkness, being evidently prevented solely by our watchfires from making their supper of us.

We immediately saddled up, and pursued our journey, for at this spot we had neither grass nor water to refresh our horses. At starting, our road lay through a narrow defile, which opened upon more extensive scenery.

This defile Frederick though fit to name " Thompson's Poort," (i. e. Gate or Pass,) in honour of the narrator. On clearing the ravine, we could descry the mountains beyond the Vaal or Yellow River. We travelled on two hours without seeing any object worthy of notice. Fine grass we found in abundance, but there was no water, without which our horses could not eat. At length we came again suddenly upon the banks of the Cradock, where we immediately unsaddled our exhausted steeds, and turned them loose to drink and graze their fill. Our own rations consisted of a small crust of dry bread, now as hard as a piece of wood ; but we soaked it in water, and ate it with all the relish of hungry men. Here we observed fresh marks of Bushmen.

On examining my map, I found that the nearest way from our present station to Griqua Town, would be to recross the Cradock, and proceed athwart the country to Read's Drift, in the Orange River. As soon as I proposed this route, however, Frederick remonstrated against it most strenuously ; maintaining in the first place, that it was impossible to cross the river ; and next, that the lions on the opposite side were more *kwaad* (angry or fierce) than those where we now were. To these objections I paid little attention, considering them mere pretences to cover his timidity.

Having carefully examined the river, I determined on crossing ; for it appeared at this place not so deep, though somewhat broader than at Vanderwalt's Drift. We accordingly saddled and mounted our steeds ; but I found it impossible to persuade Frederick either to lead the way, or to accompany me. My utmost urgency could only extort from him a promise to follow me across, in the event of my getting safe over. To this condition I agreed, and immediately plunged into the stream. I found it only about three feet deep, and it continued nearly the same till I had got about three-fourths across. I already considered this difficulty surmounted ; a few yards more and I was safely ashore—when all at once down plunged both my horses into deep

water, and into the power of a rapid current. Fortunately for me, the animals proved manageable. I grasped the mane of the one I rode, with one hand, and with the other contrived to turn his head back towards the side where I had entered; and in a short time got him again upon his feet, and reached the shore—thankful to God for my escape from the most imminent danger I had ever encountered. My guide met me as I reached the bank, and eagerly grasping my hand, with tears in his eyes, testified the most lively joy at seeing me safe out of danger; adding, that if I had been drowned, he could never have looked Captain Stockenstrom in the face, as he had particularly charged him never to leave me on any account. I was pleased by Frederick's display of feeling on this occasion, and the danger I had now escaped, as well as the alarms and privations we had shared together, contributed to attach him more and more to me; nor can I ever sufficiently express my obligations to Captain S. for his considerate kindness in providing me with such a faithful attendant.

Having now abandoned all idea of re-crossing the Cradock River, I resolved to follow its course, at no great distance, to its junction with the Yellow River; and crossing the latter at the first convenient place, to proceed by that way, either to Griqua Town, or to Campbell's-dorp, a small Griqua village, at no great distance from its banks. Soon after recommencing our journey we met a Koranna riding on a bullock. We accosted him with a view to learn intelligence as to our route, but could not by any method make him understand our meaning. The Korannas are a tribe of independent Hottentots, nearly allied to the Namaquas who reside on the west coast: I shall have occasion to speak more fully of both these tribes hereafter. We had scarcely left the Koranna when we fell in with a solitary Bushman, who appeared much surprised by our appearance. A little farther on we came unawares upon a large party of the same

people, but being not at all desirous of nearer acquaintance, at this time, with these suspicious savages, we galloped past them with all speed; while they seemed completely taken by surprise, and remained, as if rivetted to the spot, gazing after us as long as we were within view. I took it for granted, that they would imagine that we were the outriders of a larger party, such a thing as single individuals crossing this country being unprecedented, and I did not give them leisure to discover our weakness. We still kept the banks of the Cradock, and were frequently struck with the picturesque views it presented; its deep solemn waters, flowing along under the shady willows which every where overhung its banks, afforded a fine contrast to the parched country at a little distance from its course. At one place, the stream, for a space of about two hundred yards, is confined in a narrow defile, not more than forty yards broad, through which it rushes with amazing violence, roaring tremendously. By the vestiges of inundations on the banks it appears to swell up at certain periods, like an immense lake, above this narrow.

The day being warm I soon got dried from the drenching I had received in the river. About noon we reached the confluence of the Cradock and Yellow Rivers.* The latter, to my astonishment, was at this time much the largest; and I now saw clearly that it would have been very hazardous, if not quite impracticable, to have crossed the Gariep at Read's Drift, where the waters of the two streams are united, had I effected my plan of getting across the Cradock. It was, therefore, extremely fortunate that the attempt had been frustrated.

The scenery, at the junction of the two great branches of the Gariep, was

* The English name of this latter branch is a translation of the original Koranna appellation, *Ky Gariep*. The Griquas and Boors give it the Dutch name of *Vaal rivier*, which has nearly the same meaning. The Cradock is termed by the Korannas *Nu Gariep*, or Black River. The word *Gariep*, signifying simply *river* in the Koranna tongue, is applied by way of eminence to the united streams, or main trunk, generally known in the colony by the epithets of *Groote*, or *Orange* River.

the most magnificent I had yet seen in this country. The immense confluence of waters,—the steep banks overhung with majestic willow-trees,—the sedgy recesses of the hippopotamus, which abounds here, all contributed to fill the mind with sublime emotions, and with admiration of the wisdom and power of the great Creator.

We were now obliged to wind up the banks of the Yellow River for some miles in search of a ford where we might safely cross. In our way we passed several Koranna kraals, and stopped at one or two of them to make enquiries; but we found only women and children at home, who could understand neither our language nor our signs. The men we supposed to be out hunting. These simple people seemed astonished at our appearance, and uttered a wild cry of admiration—"*ah! ah!*"

A little way from these kraals, as I afterwards learned, are very large, natural salt-pans, of the same description as those near Zwartkop's River, from which the neighbouring inhabitants supply themselves with salt.

In about an hour we found a place which we considered fordable. We immediately entered, and found the water about three feet deep, but very rapid, so that we were obliged to keep the heads of the horses strongly up the stream all the way through. The river was here about two hundred yards wide, and was much more discoloured than the waters of the Cradock. Both these rivers are now ascertained to be chiefly fed by the periodical rains which fall among the mountains near Delagoa Bay. From December to April they are at their highest, during which time they can only be crossed by rafts, or by swimming. At this time they were rapidly decreasing, and next month would be at the lowest.

CHAPTER VII.

CAMPBELL'S-DORP.—GRIQUA TOWN.—MR. MELVILL.—INTERNAL DISSENTIONS AMONG THE GRIQUAS.—THEIR ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE.—HUIL, THE BUSHMAN CHIEF.

HAVING safely forded the Yellow River, we unsaddled to refresh the horses, and divided at the same time, between ourselves, our last remaining crust, which we had frugally eked out thus far. It was now past one o'clock P. M.; and, according to my map, we appeared to be still distant six or seven hours hard riding from Griqua Town, with no chance of finding it in the dark. On the other hand, the village of Campbell's-dorp was only about four hours distant, and my guide had a pretty clear idea of its local position in reference to the spot where we now were. We therefore determined, if possible, to gain the latter place this evening, having no ambition of another nightly *bivouac* amidst lions and Bushmen.

Another description of country now presented itself, covered with flints, and overgrown with bushes. Having no track we were continually in danger of falling into the numerous holes of the *aardvark*, or great ant-eater. The bushes consisted chiefly of a thorny shrub *(acacia detinens,)* well known in the Colony by the name of *wagt een bitje* (wait a bit,) the prickles of which being shaped like hooks, there is no getting loose from them when

they catch hold of one's clothes, except by tearing out the part entangled. Their grappling properties I soon experienced to my sorrow, for I was nearly pulled off my horse several times by their catching hold of my clothes, and only retained my seat by throwing my arms round the animal's neck. The poor horses, too, got quite nervous, by feeling their lacerating effects. As we galloped through the jungle as hard as we could spur on, (for we had no time to lose), on nearing a bush my led horse would throw himself against me with all his force, to avoid touching the thorns; at the same time crushing me and the horse I rode upon the bushes on the opposite side; so that I came in for a severe share of bruises and scratches. This rough riding continued the whole afternoon.

Sunset now approached, and still no appearance of human habitation in the wide extended desert. I began to fear that my guide had again led me astray, and that we should be forced to pass another night in the waste, and without either food or water. But just as the sun was sinking down we descried, at a distance, a cloud of dust. My Hottentot hailed it with ecstasy, explaining to me that it arose from the herds and flocks of the Griquas, now driven in to their evening kraals. Urging on our jaded steeds, we accordingly reached the village before it was quite dark, to the astonishment of the natives, who could not imagine who I was, or what was my object.

However, I was hospitably welcomed, and immediately invited to the house of one of the chiefs. In the meantime the news of my arrival had spread like wildfire through the village, and in a few minutes the house was filled to the door with people, hurrying in to satisfy their curiosity. It was at first supposed that I was the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, or some person sent by him on account of the civil broils in their community; and they concluded that my escort was coming up behind. I saw several of them sounding my Hottentot guide on these subjects. After being assured,

however, by him, that I had no political objects, but was merely a traveller who had thrown myself, thus unattended, on their hospitality, they expressed a desire to render me every service in their power.

I seated myself without ceremony near the fire in the centre of the house, and was soon quite on familiar terms with them. I found I was the guest of Abraham Kok, and that his brothers Cornelius and Adam, who resided in the same village, were also present. These men are three of the hereditary chiefs, or captains of the Griqua tribe, being sons of old Cornelius Kok, mentioned by former travellers, who died about twelve months ago. They expressed considerable surprize at my venturing to come alone through the Bushman country, where, as they alleged, even well-escorted travellers are liable to be attacked by the crafty savages, and where the whole country is infested by lions. My escape from both, they said, I ought to consider almost miraculous. There was, doubtless, some hazard, but I could not help thinking that these people, as well as the boors, were disposed to exaggerate it. I learned that Messrs. Hodgson and Broadbent, Wesleyan Missionaries, had visited this place in November last, and had proceeded up the Yellow River, or one of its branches called by the Griquas the Hart. A little above the salt-pans formerly mentioned, another stream, called by the Griquas the *Modder* (Muddy), by Mr. Campbell the Alexander, joins the Yellow River.

Having rode about sixty miles to-day through a very fatiguing country, and having fared very poorly for three days back, I was glad to partake of some food; and retired as soon as possible to repose, leaving Frederick to satisfy the craving curiosity of the natives.

It may be necessary to explain here, that about two years previous to my visit, the Colonial Government had sent a Mr. Melvill to reside among the Griquas as Government Resident, or agent. Previous to this time, these people had been governed entirely by chiefs of their own tribe, who had

acquired some sort of hereditary authority among them, such as the Koks, and one or two more. Mr. Melvill, however, had thought fit to elevate a man named Waterboer to the principal authority, who being considered by the other chiefs, and the Griquas in general, of mean lineage, on account of his descent from a Bushman stock, (for Griquas, as well as others, have their notions of rank and precedency,) a great part of the tribe had refused to acknowledge his authority, and had retired from their chief village, Griqua Town, in disgust. In consequence of this defection, Mr. Melvill had denounced them as rebels, and having himself no means of enforcing submission to his authority, had lately applied to the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet for a commando from the Colony to reduce them. This application, as I formerly mentioned, Captain Stockenstrom had declined to comply with; neither approving in fact of the policy pursued by Mr. Melvill, nor considering himself authorised, without special instructions from the Government, to interfere in the internal disputes of a community beyond the boundaries of his provincial jurisdiction. The party among whom I now was, therefore, were the rebels or disaffected, whom Mr. Melvill had denounced, and from whose violence he considered his life in danger. Notwithstanding this, I went to sleep without any apprehensions of their intentions, although Frederick had hinted to me that it was with no small difficulty that he could persuade them that I was not a spy.

9.—This morning, at an early hour, I had the same assembly around me, as on the preceding night. Making Frederick my interpreter, I put many questions to them, respecting their late dissentions. I found their principal ground of complaint against Mr. Melvill was, his making a chief of Andries Waterboer, and his wishing, through him (as they alleged), to control *them*, the "real hereditary chiefs." This they considered as a sort of usurpation or infringement of their privileges, not to be tolerated, and to which they had, accordingly, resolved not to submit.

After a long discussion, I promised to represent their case to the Government at Cape Town, and, in the meanwhile, I proposed that they should accompany me to Griqua Town, and try whether matters might not be yet accommodated with Mr. Melvill. To this proposal they agreed, and it was accordingly arranged, that the two brothers, Cornelius and Adam Kok, should accompany me. They, moreover, furnished me and my guide with fresh horses, my own being so much knocked up, that I found it expedient to leave them behind, to be brought on to Griqua Town more leisurely next day.

The village, or station, of Campbell's-dorp, contains a few straggling reed huts, and three or four houses of a little better construction. The latter are the dwellings of the chiefs. It is well supplied with good water, and the inhabitants possess large herds of cattle and sheep, and a great number of excellent horses.

After some breakfast, consisting, like my supper, entirely of milk and flesh, (for they had neither bread nor vegetables,) I set out, accompanied by the two Koks, and my man Frederick. The road was, like that of the preceding day, through a country covered with flints, and encumbered with thorny brushwood. These coverts enable the Bushmen to lurk here, in spite of all the efforts of the Griquas to root them out. They are a great annoyance to the latter, as well as to other pastoral tribes in their vicinity, and they are consequently pursued by them, equally as by the boors, with the utmost animosity.

About halfway between Campbell's-dorp and Griqua Town, we met Mr. Sass, a Missionary, who resides at the former station, returning from a visit to Mr. Melvill. On our approach he jumped out of his waggon, apparently much agitated, and was scarcely able for some time to answer the most common questions. I attributed his discomposure to the apprehension, that probably struck him on seeing the rebel chiefs, that they were proceeding to

attack their opponents at Griqua Town. This man is a German by birth, and in the service of the London Society: he has married a Hottentot woman, and has long resided among the wild tribes of the interior.

On entering Griqua Town, our appearance seemed to excite general surprize; and I observed several persons fly to acquaint Mr. Melvill, who had gone out with his wife. Presently they hastened to meet us; for, having been told that there was a white man in the party, he concluded it was Captain Stockenstrom. On perceiving his mistake, he seemed surprized,—seeing me in company with his enemies, the rebels; but a letter of introduction, which I presented to him from Captain S. and a brief explanation of my objects, put him at ease; and I was welcomed to his house with the utmost cordiality.

While some refreshment was preparing, Mr. Melvill gave me an account of the state of affairs among the Griquas. The Koks, it seems, on his arrival, held the authority, conjointly with another chief of the name of Berends. Finding that these men were not sufficiently active or friendly to his views, Mr. Melvill had thought it expedient to elevate Waterboer, as before stated, to the dignity of a chief, and by this measure had excited the jealousy and animosity of the others; and to such extremities had their long-brooding jars been carried, that, according to Mr. Melvill's account, a diabolical plot had been laid by the disaffected party, to fall upon himself, Waterboer, and their principal adherents, when in the chapel, and massacre the whole of them in cold blood. This treacherous design had been, by some means, brought to their knowledge, and was thus defeated. But whether the insurgent party had actually concerted the perpetration of such an atrocity, or whether the report was invented, or the features of the case exaggerated by some of their rivals, who had thus imposed on Mr. Melvill's credulity, in order to exasperate him more against them, I could not positively determine.

No one who is acquainted with Mr. Melvill personally, can for a moment

doubt the benevolence and disinterestedness of his character. Indeed his being here at all is a sufficient proof of these qualities. He formerly held an easy and respectable situation under Government in Cape Town, namely, that of Inspector of Public Buildings, &c. with an income of about 7000 rix-dollars per annum; but being a religious man, and zealous for the civilization and conversion of the heathen, he applied to the Government for his present appointment, and voluntarily resigned for it his lucrative situation, with the benevolent purpose of promoting Missionary operations.

How far Mr. Melvill justly estimated his own qualifications for the arduous task of influencing a semi-barbarous people, may well be questioned, on witnessing the unhappy results of his interference with the affairs of the Griquas; but his praiseworthy motives and generous self-devotion must ever be respected. He now receives, as the Government agent here, a salary of only 1000 rix-dollars (75*l.*); besides which he occupies a small house belonging to the London Missionary Society, has a garden well stocked with fruit trees and vegetables, and cultivates corn sufficient for the consumption of his family. And, except for the unfortunate disturbances among the people, he appeared to live quite contented in this remote seclusion, where, save his wife and children, and a German missionary, he has no other society than the rude and untutored natives.

10.—Having agreed to spend this day with Mr. Melvill, I devoted the forenoon to survey the village and its vicinity. It lies in a pleasant valley well watered by several copious springs. The valley is closed on the north-west by a range of low hills of argillaceous schistus, which, either from the presence of iron ore, or some other cause, are so highly magnetic as to prevent the traverse of the needle. Among those hills asbestos has been found in considerable quantity. The surrounding country beyond the limits of the Vale of Griqua Town, consists of extensive sandy plains, covered with brushwood, and of the same arid and uninviting aspect as that through

which I had passed since leaving the banks of the Yellow River. The cultivation of corn has been carried on by the missionaries and a few of the Griquas with tolerable success, by means of irrigation, but not to any great extent. The food of the inhabitants consists of milk and flesh, and occasionally a few pumpkins. The country is, indeed, chiefly adapted for grazing; and the Griquas, who have been but lately reclaimed by the missionaries from a life entirely nomadic, are as yet with difficulty excited to agricultural labours, to which the aridity of the soil and the uncertainty of the seasons are also great obstacles. Their internal dissentions have recently added another obstacle to settled pursuits and agricultural improvements, not less influential, perhaps, than their propensity to wandering habits and the defects of their soil and climate.

The rains here are not regular, but merely thunder-showers in the summer season. Occasionally the long want of these not only destroys the produce of their fields and gardens, but parches up the pastures so much that they are forced to remove with the greater part of their cattle to distant fountains where grass is to be found. The country is also very deficient in timber. The camel-thorn is, indeed, found in the neighbourhood, of a considerable size, but the wood is too hard for common purposes, being wrought with much difficulty and frequently breaking their tools. The inhabitants are therefore forced to resort to the Gariep for all the timber they use, and find there an inexhaustible supply, though not of the best quality, in the large willow groves which line the banks.

The Griquas, as is already pretty generally known, are a mixed race, originally descended from the intercourse of the Dutch colonists with Hottentot women. Being prevented from acquiring any fixed property in the Colony, and gradually forced back from the places they formerly occupied on the frontier, a number of them took refuge, about fifty years ago, in the wild regions adjoining the Gariep. It this situation, after being for some

time the dupes of an unprincipled impostor, named Stephanus, who had fled from the Colony on account of his crimes, they were found by the missionary Anderson about twenty-five years ago. "At that time, (as it is justly observed by the Rev. Dr. Philip) they were a herd of wandering and naked savages, subsisting by plunder and by the chase. Their bodies were daubed with red paint, their heads loaded with grease and shining powder, with no covering but the filthy carosse over their shoulders; without morals, without knowledge, or any traces of civilization, and wholly abandoned to drunkenness, witchcraft, licentiousness, and all the consequences which arise from the unchecked growth of such vices. With his fellow-labourer, Mr. Kramer, Mr. Anderson wandered about with them five years and a half, exposed to all the dangers and privations inseparable from such a state of society, before they got them to locate where they are now settled." This spot was then named Klaarwater. It received the appellation of Griqua Town, from the missionary traveller Mr. Campbell; who, at the same time, gave the name of *Griquas* to this infant community. They had previously been known (as indeed they still are among the Dutch colonists) by the uncouth appellation of *Bastaards*. No slight improvement has been wrought upon the manners and character of this wild horde by the labours of the missionaries. That much remains still to be done, is far more a subject of regret than surprize, considering the peculiar difficulties with which they have to contend, among a people so situated.

The number of Griquas residing at this village and the stations in its vicinity, are computed to amount to about 1600 souls. Those scattered among the more distant settlements connected with the same community, are supposed to be about 1000 more; and the number of Koranna Hottentots living among them, or under their influence, are at least 1800. By trafficking with the boors, they have obtained possession of about 500 muskets; and might, perhaps, one day become dangerous to the northern frontier of the Colony itself,

were it not that they are entirely dependent on the good-will of the Cape Government, for even the little ammunition that they are allowed to obtain, and which alone can make them formidable.

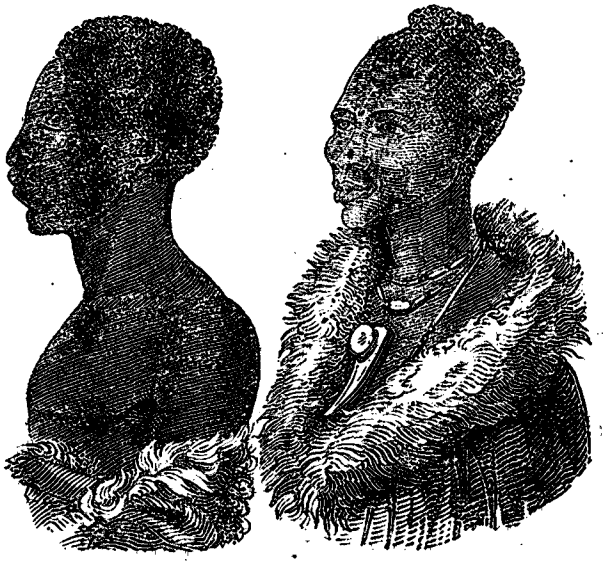
The possession of fire-arms, however, with even the limited supply of ammunition which they can procure, gives the Griquas a decided advantage over the native tribes in their vicinity. At the period of my visit, they had not abused this advantage by any recent acts of oppression towards either the Bechuana or Koranna tribes, with both of whom they lived in amity.* But towards the wretched Bushmen, I found them, in general, animated by the same spirit of animosity as the frontier boors, and Mr. Melvill's exertions to restrain this spirit, have doubtless increased his unpopularity. At this very time, the new chief, Waterboer, was absent on a Bushman commando; and not long before, he and his followers had finished a war with another kraal of those miserable outcasts, of which the following is a sketch :—

A Bushman chief, named Huil, had attacked a Koranna kraal, in alliance with the Griquas, and carried off some of their cattle. The Korannas complained to their Griqua patrons, and Captain Waterboer went out with his men, surprised Huil in his kraal, forced him to make restitution, and fined him of his riding-ox, and a tribute of beads. Huil had maintained peace with the Griquas for twenty years; he now determined, it seems, no longer to be controlled by them, but to make war on his neighbours, like a free potentate. He speedily made another foray upon the Korannas, and carried off some of their cattle, and several, also, belonging to the dominating Griquas. This conduct was considered the height of insolence and ingratitude; and Waterboer went forth once more with his band and surrounded the robber in his den. Two messengers (tame Bushmen) were sent to require him to surrender at discretion; for his kraal was surrounded with men and muskets,

* Some late unhappy deviations from this orderly conduct will be mentioned in a subsequent part of the work.

and not a soul could possibly escape. But old Huil's blood was up, and he resolved to fight it out manfully. The envoys themselves were scarcely spared in his wrath: to the Griquas he returned his defiance. The unequal conflict commenced—poisoned arrows against powder and ball;—and it was not until eight of his followers had fallen, and he himself was mortally wounded, that Huil would permit his sons to surrender. Seventy men, women, and children, were found in the kraal, and carried prisoners to Griqua Town; but the sons of the deceased robber having expressed due contrition, and promised to lead a peaceable life in future, they and their people were dismissed—after receiving a present of some goats, &c. from the benevolent Mr. Melvill, to win them to confidence and friendship. Nor was this kindness misplaced; for Mr. Melvill informed me that Huil's clan, instead of seeking to revenge his death, had ever since remained on friendly terms with the pastoral tribes around them, and that his sons frequently visited Griqua Town to exchange the salutation of peace, and to beg tobacco.

In these deplorable wars the Bushmen are doubtless, in general, the aggressors, by their propensity to depredation. Yet, on the other hand, have they not some cause to regard both Boors and Griquas as intruders upon their ancient territories,—as tyrannical usurpers, who, by seizing their finest fountains, and destroying the wild game on which they were wont to subsist, have scarcely left them even the desolate wilderness for an habitation?



CHAPTER VIII.

RUMOURS OF THE MANTATEES.—ARRIVAL OF MR. MOFFAT.—GRIQUA COUNCIL.—JOURNEY TO KURUMAN.—DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.—INTERVIEW WITH THE KING.—CEREMONY OF BOIALLOA, &c.

In conversing with Mr. Melvill about the Bechuana tribes to the northward, he mentioned that some extraordinary rumours had reached him a few days ago, respecting an immense horde, or nation, who were said to be approaching from the north-east, and who were laying waste the country, and destroying all who ventured to oppose them. Such extravagant details, however, were mingled with the reports,—representing the invaders as con-

sisting partly of white men, with long hair and beards, led on by a giantess, with one eye in her forehead, and such like childish absurdities, that Mr. Melvill, finding the rumours were derived from the Bechuanas, was disposed to consider them altogether as fables of their own fabrication. We soon discovered, however, that these extraordinary rumours had a more serious foundation than he had surmised.

As we were sitting chatting after mid-day upon this and other matters, a waggon was announced to be in sight, on the road from Kuruman, or New Lattakoo. On approaching, it was recognized to be that of Mr. Moffat, one of the missionaries resident at that place; and presently Mr. Moffat jumped out of it, and came up to us, dressed in a jacket of leopard skin, and with a black bushy beard, about eight inches long. I was the less surprised at this Jewish fashion, as I had found Mr. Melvill wearing a beard of similar dimensions;—for beards, it seems, (probably from those of the natives being so scanty,) are objects of no small respect in this part of the world.

As soon as Mr. Moffat had taken a seat, he introduced the object of his unexpected visit; which was no other than to solicit assistance from the Griquas to repel the marauding horde of strange people, who were now plundering and destroying the Bechuana tribes to the northward, and who were fast approaching the country of the Matclhapee tribe, among whom Mr. Moffat was stationed. The accounts that had reached Kuruman of this savage horde, were scarcely less extraordinary than the more vague rumours which Mr. Melvill had just repeated to me. They were represented by the fugitives, who had escaped from the tribes that had been attacked by them, as an immense army of plunderers, led on by several chiefs, and consisting of people of various complexions; the majority black and almost naked, others of a yellow or Hottentot colour, and some perfectly white, with long hair and beards, and dressed in European clothing. Their weapons were said to be clubs and javelins, and a short crooked instrument, like a cimeter. They

were considered almost irresistible from their great numbers and warlike ferocity. They were accompanied by their wives and children; and, finally, they were confidently affirmed to be *cannibals*. The precise point from which they had originally advanced was not ascertained; but they had first fallen upon a tribe of Bechuanas, called Lehoyas, towards the south-east. From thence they had penetrated through the country to the northward, as far as the Wankeets, by whom they had been repulsed, and turned back towards the Colony. Having defeated and plundered every other people they had encountered, to the number of twenty-eight tribes, their present route, according to the latest accounts, was direct upon Old Lattakoo; and their design was said by the fugitives to be to plunder that place and New Lattakoo, or the town of Kuruman, and then to attack the Griquas. The appellation by which they were known among the Bechuanas was that of *Mantatees*.

A considerable part of this account being now fully ascertained to be true, Mateebè, King of the Matclhapee tribe, was preparing to fly with all his people, unless assistance could be obtained from the Griquas to repel these formidable invaders. Mr. Moffat had therefore come himself to represent the urgency of the danger, leaving his wife and children, meanwhile, with Mr. Hamilton, his brother missionary.

This alarming statement recalled to my mind the reports I had heard at Cradock respecting disturbances among the tribes in the interior, derived from the three fugitives taken in the Tarka. To find myself thus unexpectedly in the immediate vicinity of the marauding hordes was, however, an event I had little anticipated, and which now threatened to interpose an unsurmountable obstacle to my farther progress into the country. I resolved, however, at all events, to accompany Mr. Moffat as far as Kuruman, in order to see a little of the Bechuanas, and then to judge whether it might be prudent or practicable to proceed farther.

Mr. Melvill, not a little alarmed and perplexed by this strange news, instantly called a meeting of all the Griqua chiefs then in the village, including the disaffected captains who had accompanied me from Campbell's-dorp. All assembled immediately, and held a council of war, to which Mr. Moffat and I were admitted; and, after a long and serious deliberation, in which all the preceding details were discussed, the Griquas came to the resolution of mustering their forces with all speed, and of marching towards Kuruman, to join the Bechuanas in repelling the invaders. Messengers were instantly dispatched to the distant stations, to call out men and arms; and I was much pleased to observe that all parties co-operated cordially and unanimously in these energetic measures, and that the urgency of a great common danger had dissipated (at least for a time) their internal broils and jealousies. The Griqua chiefs calculated that they could muster in a few days about 200 men, mounted and armed with muskets: had sufficient time been allowed, they could have brought into the field double that number. This troop they promised to bring up to Kuruman in ten days; and in the meanwhile, it was arranged that Mr. Moffat and I should hasten forward to encourage Mateebè and his people, and prevent them from retreating till the Griquas should arrive.

On calculating our stock of ammunition, it was found that only about fifty pounds of gunpowder could be mustered altogether, including what Mr. Moffat had at Kuruman, and about ten pounds which I had brought with me.

Having found means to engage fresh horses here, I left those I had brought from the Colony to rest and refresh, under the care of my Hottentot, Frederick, until my return; taking with me in his place a Bechuana servant, who could speak a little Dutch.

11.—After a very brief repose, Mr. Moffat and I started on horseback about two P. M.; my Bechuana attendant being to follow as soon as he

got ready. Nothing worthy of notice occurred on this day's journey, except that we met about a hundred Bechuanas of the Karriharri tribe, on their way to Griqua-Town to barter mantles of wild-cat and jackal skins, for beads, buttons, &c. Their country lies a great way to the north; the distance being estimated to be upwards of 300 miles. After a ride of about sixty miles, we reached the residence of two Griquas, where we spent the night. The men were absent hunting the camelopard, but their wives supplied us hospitably with milk and flesh, and Bechuana mantles *(carosses)* to sleep on. My attendant joined us here in the course of the evening.

12.—This morning we found that our Griqua hosts had returned home during the night. We informed them of the Commando now mustering among their countrymen, and they agreed to be in readiness to join the expedition on its march to Lattakoo. These two men I found well informed respecting the country. They had travelled much among the Bechuana tribes, procuring elephants' teeth, &c. to barter in the Colony. They had once been as far as the Wankeets' nation, whom Mr. Campbell charges as being the murderers of Dr. Cowan's exploratory party, in 1806. But these Griquas affirmed that this was a calumny raised by some of the other tribes against the Wankeets, and that Dr. Cowan and his companions passed perfectly safe through that country.

As we proceeded on our journey, we found the country improve in appearance, opening out into extensive plains covered with long grass, and patched with acacias. Game appeared plentiful, and I observed a new species of quagha, more distinctly striped than that of the Colony, and approaching in appearance to the zebra.

As we rode through a narrow valley, a Bushman came running down to us from a neighbouring hill, begging for tobacco; and on receiving a small piece appeared quite overjoyed.

At sunset the plains of Kuruman opened before us, extending as far as the eye could reach, with a chain of hills running to our left, and passing the town, which takes its name from a small river which has its source at no great distance. Having moonlight, we continued to push forward in spite of the numerous and dangerous holes of the ant-eater, and reached the Matclhapee capital about eight o'clock, after a hard day's ride of above seventy miles.

We eagerly enquired of the missionary, Mr. Hamilton, whether any farther intelligence had been obtained of the approach of the invaders; but he could only inform us that various rumours were in circulation among the natives, none of which could be depended on unless distinctly confirmed: for the Bechuanas are great story-tellers, and circulators of false reports; and it did not appear that the king or chiefs were in possession of any fresh intelligence that they could trust.

While we were at supper, I heard a great noise of singing and shouting in the town, which the missionaries informed me was occasioned by the celebration of a sort of festival called *Boïalloa*, when all the young girls, on attaining the age of thirteen, go through certain ceremonies, after which they are admitted to the rank of women.

13.—Early in the morning we had the honour of a visit from King Mateebè, and his queen, Mahoota,* with a number of chiefs and attendants. The king expressed great satisfaction at the return of his friend Moffat (or

* The vignette at the head of the chapter contains an excellent likeness of Queen Mahoota, dressed in her fur mantle. This *princess* is not of Bechuana but of Hottentot lineage, as her lighter complexion and cast of features indicate. She is the daughter of a Koranna chief in alliance with Mateebè, who resides near the sources of the *Ky-Gariep*, or Yellow River. Her mantle is made of the skins of the tiger-cat. Her hair is shaved in the Bechuana fashion, leaving a bunch on the crown of the head, which is anointed with grease and powdered well with *sibillo*, a shining mineral powder much in request at the court of the Matclhapees. The other head in the vignette (on the left-hand) is that of one of Mateebè's attendants.

Mishat, as he pronounced the name); and when informed that the Griquas, with horses and muskets, were coming to his assistance, he manifested the highest gratitude and satisfaction. I was then introduced to his *Majesty* by Mr. Moffat, who explained who I was, and that I had come a very long journey on horseback to see his country. Mateebè enquired whether I was not afraid to come so far, and among so wild a people? I replied, "Certainly not, having the utmost confidence in him and his countrymen." He then said with a good grace, that he was glad to see me,—that he esteemed the white people,—and bade me welcome to Kuruman.

After breakfast I went out, accompanied by Mr. Moffat, to survey the town, which is very extensive, containing from eight to ten thousand inhabitants. Though built without any plan or attention to regularity, it has a very lively and agreeable appearance. Every thing is kept so neat and clean, that one cannot but feel pleased with the inhabitants, in wandering through the streets and lanes. The houses are all of a circular form, and of a very peculiar and convenient fashion, considering the climate and the circumstances of the people. The roof is raised upon a circle of wooden pillars, including an area of from twenty to thirty feet in diameter. About two yards within these pillars is raised a wall of clay, or of wattle and plaster, which is not generally carried quite up to the roof, but a space is left above for the free admission of air. In the centre or back part of the hut, is constructed a small apartment where they keep their most valuable effects. Between the wall and the wooden pillars the people generally recline under the shade during the sultry hours. Each of these houses is enclosed within a close-wattled fence about seven or eight feet high, which is carried round it at the distance of six, eight, or ten yards, thus forming a private yard, within which are placed the owner's corn jars, and other bulky property. Each of these yards has a small gate, and all the houses are built exactly in the same style, and nearly of the same dimensions, except the king's,

which is almost double the size of the rest. The king's house, and those of the principal chiefs, are each erected near a large camel-thorn tree, which is left there as a sign of rank. The streets are kept perfectly clean; neither bushes, rubbish, bones, nor any other nuisance, are allowed to be thrown upon them. The best idea I can convey of a Bechuana town is to compare its appearance, from a little distance, to an immense barn-yard; the huts, with their conical thatched roofs, resembling very much so many stacks of corn.

At a short distance from the main-town is a considerable suburb or village, containing about five hundred souls. To this the Missionaries have given, somewhat ludicrously, the name of *Hackney*.

The spot where the town of Lattakoo stood, when this tribe were visited by Dr. Somerville, and afterwards by Mr. Campbell on his first journey, lies about eighty miles north-east from the present capital of the tribe, which, from the stream near which it stands, is more properly called Kuruman. The inhabitants of this place take the name of *Matclhapees*.* Other tribes are in alliance or confederacy with them, who also acknowledge the Matclhapee king as their lord paramount, but the nature of their allegiance appears, like that of the Caffer hordes in general to their royal families, to be of a very loose and indefinite character. The authority of the king is only implicitly obeyed by his own clan and immediate retainers.

Mr. Moffat and I next waited upon the king at his own house, where I

* Campbell calls them *Matchappees*, and Burchell *Batchapins*. If I can trust my own ear, the orthography of both these travellers is incorrect in this instance. At the same time it must be owned that the articulation of the natives, in many cases, appears so indistinct to a European ear, that the strange diversity in the orthography of proper names in the works of different travellers, is not at all surprising. There is no *cluck* in the word *Matclhapee*, but the sound indicated by the letters *clh* very much resembles the Welch *ll*, for which our alphabet possesses no certain sign. This sound is found in many words, both of the Bechuana and Caffer dialects, and has led to the corruption of the name of the celebrated Chief *Sambie*, which a Welchman would pronounce correctly, if spelt *Llhambi*.

G. Thompson, Esq.r del.t

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presented him with a snuff-box full of snuff, this being a stimulant which the Bechuanas of all ranks are passionately fond of. To his principal wife I presented a gilt chain, which I had the honour of fixing round her arm. I also presented one of the same sort to one of their daughters, and another to Peclu, the eldest son, and heir apparent, a fine-looking lad of about seventeen years of age.*

I called afterwards at the houses of several chiefs, at each of which I was presented with thick milk in an earthen jar, the donor always tasting it first, in order to show, I presume, that it was wholesome. One of the chiefs whom we visited was Munameetz, who accompanied Mr. Campbell as a guide on his second journey. We then approached the house where the ceremony of *Boïalloa* was performing; and though we knew that, according to their customs, only females can be admitted, yet we ventured on asking permission to enter. After some deliberation an old woman said, with much solemnity, "These are Gods, let them walk in." This may convey some idea of the high estimation these people have of the superiority of the whites. Mr. Moffat stopped to reprove the woman for her expression, explaining that we were merely men, of the same flesh and blood as themselves. In this house we saw all the young damsels assembled, who were then undergoing the ceremony of the *Boïalloa*, under the superintendence of several old women. Their dress was the most ridiculous imaginable, and each of them had one

* The portrait of Peclu here given, was taken during his visit to Cape Town (see Chapter XVII.) under the guardianship of his sage Mentor, old Teysho, in the close of 1823. It is a striking likeness—for the author was assisted in this, as in several similar matters, by an able artist—Mr. De Meillon. The cloak in which the young chief is dressed, is that worn by the higher class of Bechuanas. It is composed of the skins of a very beautiful species of wild cat, which are joined together with much taste, and neatly and firmly sewed with thread from the dorsal sinews of the springbok. A less valuable sort of mantle is made in the same manner from jackal skins. The cloak in common use consists of the softened hide of the ox or antelope. The cap worn by Peclu is of jackal skin.

half of the face painted white. When they go out they avoid, as much as possible, the sight of men, and each carries a long branch of thorn to keep off the rude boys.

The women here, as in most savage countries, perform a great proportion of the manual labours; the cultivation of the ground, the sowing, reaping, and winnowing of the corn, and even the building of the huts, fall exclusively to their share. The men content themselves with taking care of the cattle, dressing their leather raiment, and the noble amusements of war and hunting.

The Bechuanas are a fine-looking race of men,—even superior in appearance in some respects, I think, to the more manly and martial Caffers. They paint their bodies in the same way as the latter, with an ointment of fat mixed with a shining mineral powder, a sort of manganese, which gives them a very glittering appearance. They have, in general, very little beard, and many of them are bald, which they seem to consider a defect, as they greatly admired the black hair and flowing beard of Mr. Moffat.

Public intimation had been issued by the king this morning, that a great council, or convocation, would be held next day, to deliberate on the measures to be pursued in consequence of the approach of the Mantatees; and messengers had been dispatched to all the neighbouring towns and stations under Mateebè's Government, to call the people to this important assembly, (or *Peetsho*, as it is termed in their language,)—at which matters involving the very existence of their nation were to be discussed. I could not help congratulating myself on being so fortunate as to have made my visit at a period so eventful, when the real character of this interesting tribe was likely to be so distinctly manifested.

The critical situation of their public affairs did not, however, prevent me from being followed wherever I went, by crowds of the lower classes, importunately begging for snuff, which, of all luxuries, appeared to be the one most

prized by them; and in the use of which, indeed, they are very extravagant, drawing it up into their nostrils in large quantities, by means of an iron tube, or with a little ivory spoon, which most of them carry suspended from their necks for that purpose.

At dinner the king joined us at Mr. Moffat's without any invitation, and partook of our fare, seated upon a skin, on the floor, our mode of sitting being unpleasant and uneasy to him. Mateebè is an elderly person, about five feet seven inches in height, but not nearly so fine a looking man, or of so prepossessing an aspect, as many of his countrymen. The mode of address among them, I observed, was full of ceremony, and not less so among the inferior chiefs to one another, than when they addressed the king. The interpreter, when he spoke to Mateebè, commenced by saying, "I speak to the father of Peclu;" and any of them addressing Mr. Moffat, used to say, "I speak to the father of Mary." In their orations they call themselves the sons of *Mallahawan*, (or *Mulliwhang*, as some travellers write the name,) who was the father of Mateebè, and their late king.

In the afternoon I examined the improvements which Messrs. Moffat and Hamilton had accomplished in building and gardening, and was gratified at finding, that besides a school or chapel of considerable dimensions, each of the missionaries had constructed a very neat and snug cottage; and that they had well-cultivated gardens, stocked with fruit-trees and vegetables. To irrigate these, the water had been led with much labour from a considerable distance. The town, indeed, is well supplied with water from one of the most abundant springs in Southern Africa, which gushes at once from the earth at a spot about ten miles distant, and which is the source of the Kuruman River. We next proceeded to a hill about four miles west of the town, to observe a remarkable stratum of white stone. Near this mountain we found the boys who attended the cattle amusing themselves by sketching rude figures upon the rocks.

In the evening we heard doleful lamentations in one part of the town, and learned that they were occasioned by the decease of a person of consequence, and that his relatives and retainers were howling their ullalulla over the corpse. The sound was something like "chow! chow! chow!" reiterated continually, sometimes slowly and mournfully, and then again rapidly with various modifications, which altogether had a wild and melancholy effect. We also heard others singing over a sick person, in a strain more mild and monotonous.

CHAPTER IX.

GREAT NATIONAL COUNCIL, OR PEETSHO. — SPEECHES OF THE KING AND CHIEFS. — FARTHER REPORTS RESPECTING THE MANTATEES. — SECRET COUNCIL OF THE WARRIORS. — PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONARIES AT KURUMAN.

JUNE 14.—This morning opened with a tumultuous din on all sides, the whole population turning out and preparing for the Peetsho; to which the importance of the occasion, and the reports which they had heard of the new and savage enemy, gave an unusual degree of interest. At an early hour were heard the war-songs of the men, mingled with the shriller clamours of the women and children. The warriors dispersed themselves in separate groupes, in the environs of the town, and appeared to be previously discussing among themselves the topics of the ensuing debate. About ten o'clock the whole of the scattered multitude advanced towards the centre of the town, accompanying their march with war-songs and dancing; and some of them exhibiting sham fights, in which they discovered extraordinary address and agility. These warriors were armed on this occasion each with a bundle of assagais or javelins, a shield of bullock's hide, a bow and quiver full of poisoned arrows,* and a battle-axe.

* Burchell is mistaken in his statement that the Matclhapees do not use poisoned arrows. They do so constantly in war; in this respect differing from the Caffers. The use of poisoned

In the centre of the town was a circular enclosure, fenced in with a wattled hedge. This is the place allotted for their public assemblies, and allowed to be used for no other purpose. It was about 150 yards in diameter. One side was allotted for the warriors, who seated themselves, as they arrived, in close rows on the ground; holding their shields in front of them; and their assagais, seven or eight of which were stuck behind each shield, bristling up like a wood of spears.* On the opposite side, the old men, women, and children took their station. In the middle was an open space reserved for the privileged, or those who have slain an enemy in battle, to dance and sing in celebration of their prowess; which they did for half an hour, previously to the opening of the debate, with all the violent fantastic gestures imagination can conceive, accompanied by the clamorous plaudits of the spectators.

Mateebè, the king, now stood up in the centre and commanded silence, which was answered by a deep groan from the mass of warriors, in token of attention. He then drew an assagai from behind his shield, and pointing it towards the north-east, denounced a curse against the Mantatees, or invaders, declaring war against them. This was answered, in way of approval, by a whistling sound from the whole of the warriors. He then pointed the spear towards the south and south-west, denouncing a curse against the "ox-eaters," or Bushmen, which was cheered in a similar manner. Returning the spear to its place, he spoke as follows:

"Ye sons of Mallahawan! the Mantatees are a strong and conquering people. They have destroyed many nations; they are now on their march

arrows may, however, have been probably borrowed from the Bushmen or Korannas, as these weapons do not appear to prevail generally among the Bechuana tribes.

* The two missionaries and myself had the honour of a place assigned to us near the king and some of his principal chiefs. We brought with us an interpreter, by whose assistance and Mr. Moffat's I was enabled to note down on the spot the substance of the different speeches at this Bechuana parliament. During the intervals I took a sketch in pencil of this curious scene, which is accurately copied in the annexed plate.

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to destroy us. Moffat has gained information for us respecting their exploits, their weapons, their mode of fighting, their bad designs. Through the care of Moffat we now fully see our danger. We Bechuanas, or Matclhapees, Matclharoos and Myrees, are not able to stand against the Mantatees. But the Griquas have been called by Moffat to our help. He has held a council with their chiefs; they are coming on horses to unite with us against the enemy. We must now therefore concert, conclude, and fully resolve to stand. The cause is a great one—it involves our very existence as a people.

"You have witnessed the interest Moffat has taken in our safety. If we follow his example, the Mantatees shall not advance one step farther. You all see that the Macooas* are our friends. You see here Thompson, a chief from the Cape, who has come on horseback to visit us. He has not come to lurk behind our houses as a spy, but openly, and with confidence: his intentions are good; he is one on whom the light of day may shine; he is our friend. I now wait to hear what is the general opinion. Let every one speak his mind freely."

Mateebè then made the same movements with his assagai as at the commencement; after which he waved the point towards the heavens, when all called out "*Poola!*" i. e. rain or a blessing: and he sat down amidst repeated shouts and other tokens of applause. When these had subsided, the warriors exhibited their war-dance with shouts as formerly, and this was repeated after every succeeding speaker except Insha. The second speaker, Moshumè, after performing the same manœuvres as Mateebè, (which were also used by all the other orators,) spoke as follows:—

"To-day we are called upon to oppose an enemy who is the enemy of every one. Moffat, our friend, has been within a short distance of the invader's camp. We all opposed his journey, but to-day we are glad that

* Civilized or white people.

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Moffat listened not to us, but went; for he has warned us and the Griquas of our danger. But what are we now to do? If we fly, they will overtake—if we fight, they will overwhelm us. They are as a strong lion; they kill and devour, and spare none."

Here an old man interrupted the speaker, requesting him to cry aloud, that all might hear.

"I know ye, ye Matclhapees," continued Moshumè: "at home, and in the face of the women ye are men, but in the face of the enemy ye are women—ever ready to fly when you should stand firm. But consider and prepare your hearts to-day, let them be united in one, and hardened for the hour of trial."

The third speaker, Ranyouvè, exhorted his countrymen to stand fast like men on the present alarming crisis; not to be mere braggards in presence of the women, to make them believe that they were mighty men. "Keep your boasting," said he, "till the day when you have performed deeds worthy to be known."

The fourth speaker, Insha, a Barolong, began by recommending that the Bechuanas should wait until the Mantatees appeared, and then attack them. But he had scarcely uttered his first sentence, when he was interrupted by the fifth speaker, Issita, a young chief, who sprang up and exclaimed, "No! no! Who," continued he, addressing Insha, "called upon you to speak foolishness? Has the king, have the chiefs of the Matclhapees ever said that you might speak? Do you profess to instruct the sons of Mallahawan? You say you know the enemy, and yet you would have us wait until they enter our town. We are not Gods—we are but men! The Mantatees are mighty conquerors: if we wait until they fall upon us, and are then forced to yield, we lose all. Let us attack the invaders before they advance farther. If we are forced to retreat, there will then be time for the women and the feeble who remain behind, to fly. We may fight and fly,

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TEYSHO.

London, Pub.d by H. Colburn, Jan.y 1829.

fight and fly again, still fight, and at last conquer. But this we cannot do if we wait till the enemy approach and attack us in our dwellings."

This speech was loudy cheered. Insha sat down without answering; and Issita proceeded to remark that some one had accused his followers of being guilty of desertion in the time of war; and that he wished whoever had dared to assert such falsehood would appear to avow it.

The sixth speaker, Teysho,* stood up and demanded silence. Universal applause was expressed, and an aged man ran forward, stretching forth his arms towards the Chief, and exclaiming with a loud voice, "Behold the man who shall speak wisdom. Be silent, be instructed: a man, a wise man has stood up to speak."

Teysho began by informing the preceding speaker, Issita, that he was the man who had accused his followers of desertion in the time of war. "Ye cowards! ye vagabonds!" he exclaimed, "deny the charge if you can. Shall I declare how often you have done so? Were I to mention the instances, you would run away like chastened hounds, or sit like men abashed, with your heads between your knees." Then addressing the assembly, he said, "I do not rise up to-day to make speeches,—I shall wait till the day of mustering. I beseech you all, ye warriors, to prepare your hearts for the coming conflict. Consider well what is before you, that you may not turn your backs in the day of battle. You have heard of the battles that the Mantatees have fought—of the nations they have dispersed. You have heard that they now repose in quiet, and you look alone for deliverance to the Griquas with their guns and horses. But I say again,

* The annexed portrait of this Chief, is a very accurate and characteristic likeness; but it represents him not as he appeared on this occasion, but as he sat quiet and unexcited, when it was drawn, during his visit to Cape Town several months after. The cap he wears is, like that of Peclu, made of jackal-skin. The copper plate, appended to his ear, is of Bechuana manufacture, and is a badge of rank and dignity, worn only by persons of distinction. He holds in his hand a javelin or assagai of a description peculiar to the tribe.

prepare your hearts, stand up in your own defence, be strong, be resolute, else the invaders will overwhelm us, and we shall perish from the earth." Then, turning to Mateebè, he said, " You are too careless about the safety of your people. You are indolent and unconcerned.* Arouse you now, and prove to the chiefs and warriors that you are a King and a man."

The seventh speaker, Bromella, brother-in-law to Mateebè, shortly enforced the necessity of proceeding to attack the invaders, and urged the warriors to unanimity.

The eight speaker, Dleeloqua, a chief considerably advanced in years, addressed the assembly to the following effect :—

" Ye sons of Mallahawan, you have now heard enough to convince you that it is your duty to go forth to battle against the Mantatees, a people whose only aim is to plunder and destroy. Ye sons of Mallahawan ! Ye sons of Mallahawan ! ye have this day acted wisely. Ye have done well first to deliberate, and then to proceed to action. Moffat, our friend, has revealed our danger, even as the daybreak after a dark night discloses to a man the danger that approached him while darkness shut his eyes. The peril is great ; we must not act like Bechuanas, we must act like Macooas. Is this *our* Peetsho ? No ; this is the Peetsho of Moffat ; therefore we must speak like Macooas. Moffat, for our sakes, has gone with great speed to Griqua Town, and held a council with the Chief Melvill and the Griqua Captains ; and now the Griquas come with haste to unite with us against the fierce invaders. My fathers ! my brethren ! my sons ! let us fortify our hearts that disgrace may not haunt us. You have all heard Teysho speak ; you have all heard what your nation expects of you. What Moffat has declared to us is true ; and if we be not in readiness to defend our towns, our families, and our herds, our destruction is sure. Wherefore no one must attempt to

* This charge was equally just and severe, for this is Mateebè's real character. He is naturally of an easy and indolent disposition.

excuse himself from battle. If any attempt to steal away, let them be detained. All must be obedient. All must be as one. This is a great Peetsho, therefore let your hearts be hard and great, O ye sons of Mallahawan !"

The ninth speaker, Mongua, called the attention of the assembly to the speeches already delivered, and reiterated the same topics.

The tenth speaker, Semeeno, declared that he only stood up to approve of what had been said; "that the object of the meeting had been fully explained; and none," said he, "can now be ignorant of these discussions; none can say 'I have not heard them.'"

After the usual sham fights, gesticulations, &c. Mateebè again rose, resumed his central station, and commanded silence. In this closing speech he referred to the several preceding speeches, and approved or condemned what had been urged by the different orators. He then proceeded:

"It is clear that it is our best policy to march against the enemy before he advances. Let not our towns be the seat of war; let not our houses be stained with bloodshed; let the blood of the enemy be spilt at a distance from our wives and children. Yet some of you talk ignorantly; your words are the words of children or of men confounded. I am left almost alone: my two brothers have abandoned me; they have taken wives from another nation, and allow their wives to direct them; their wives are their kings!" Then turning towards his younger brothers, he imprecated a curse upon them if they should follow the example of their elder brethren. Again addressing the people, he said, "You walk over my head while I sleep, but you now see that the wise Macooas respect me. Had they not been our friends, we must have fled ere now before the enemy." Turning to Dleeloqua, the eighth speaker, he said:

"I hear you, my father; I understand you, my father; your words are true and good for the ear. It is good that we be instructed by the Macooas. May evil overtake the disobedient! May they be broken in pieces! Be

silent, ye women! (addressing them), "ye who plague your husbands, who steal their goods, and give them to others; be silent, and hinder not your husbands and children by your evil words. Be silent, ye kidney-eaters,* (turning towards the old men,) ye who are fit for nothing but to prowl about whenever an ox is killed. If our cattle are carried off, where will you get kidneys?" Then addressing the warriors, he said, "There are many of you who do not deserve to eat out of a broken pot; ye stubborn and stupid men! consider what ye have heard, and obey without murmuring. Hearken! I command you, ye chiefs of the Matclhapees, Matclhoroos, Myrees, Barolongs, and Bamacootas, that ye proclaim through all your clans the proceedings of this day, and let none be ignorant. And again I say, ye warriors, prepare for the day of battle; let your shields be strong, your quivers full of arrows, and your battle-axes sharp as hunger." Turning a second time towards the old men and women, he said, "Prevent not the warrior from going forth to battle by your timid counsels. No! rouse up the warrior to glory, and he shall return to you with honourable scars; fresh marks of valour shall cover his thigh;† and then we shall renew the war-song and dance, and rehearse the story of our achievements."

At the conclusion of this speech, the air was rent with acclamations; the warriors sprung up to re-commence the war dance, in which the whole multitude occasionally joined, the women frequently snatching the weapons from the men, and brandishing them in the air, and people of all ages displaying the most extravagant and frantic gesticulations for a space of nearly two hours.‡ Towards the conclusion, a messenger from the king delivered to

* The Bechuanas imagine that none who eat of the kidneys of the ox will have any offspring: on this account, no one except the aged, will taste them. Hence the contemptuous term of "kidney-eater," synonymous with dotard.

† The warriors receive a new scar on the thigh for every enemy they kill in battle.

‡ The annexed plate represents a Matclhapee warrior and female in full gala dress. The

each chief a sprig of the camel-thorn tree, which conveyed an intimation that a private meeting of the warriors would be held next day in the mountains, in order to discuss some topics not fit to be made public in the presence of women and children, and the lower class. After this, the assembly dispersed, and the warriors retired to their houses.

Mr. Moffat assured me that this was the most interesting and important *Peetsho* he had ever witnessed.

In the course of the evening some of Mateebè's people arrived from Lattakoo, bringing intelligence that the Mantatees were now at a town of the Barolongs, not far from that place, and that Mahoomapelo, the chief of Nokuning, a town about eighteen miles north-east of Lattakoo, was preparing for flight. This report was accompanied by the most extravagant stories, exaggerating the numbers and ferocity of the invaders, beyond all bounds of credibility, and filling the imaginations of the Bechuanas with horror and dismay. One of these messengers stated that he had seen a Barolong who, after being made prisoner by the Mantatees, had made his escape, and who positively affirmed that they were cannibals, having had ocular demonstration of the fact. He maintained that the king of the Tamacha tribe had been made

former is a portrait of Hanacom, one of the attendants of Peclu on his visit to the Cape. He is arrayed in his war habiliments, ready for the field. The plume upon his head is of ostrich feathers. Stripes of leopard-skin hang dangling from his shoulders. His right-hand wields the battle-axe; his left grasps his sheaf of assagais. His bow and quiver of poisoned arrows are slung on his back. The target at his feet is of ox or buffalo hide, sufficient to ward off an arrow or a half-spent spear. Its form is peculiar and very different from that of the southern Caffers, who use oblong shields of about four feet in length, which cover the whole trunk of the body: those of the Bechuanas are only 25 inches by 18.

The female is also in full holiday costume. The bunches of beads around her neck and body weigh at least eight or ten pounds. To this weight must be added that of the various copper and ivory rings that ornament her person. On her legs she wears bandages or anklets of leather, with hollow cavities containing small pebbles, which make a rattling noise when she dances. Her head-dress is elegantly woven of the most flexible and feathery quills of the porcupine; and her black woolly hair is smeared with oil, and sparkling with *sibillo*.

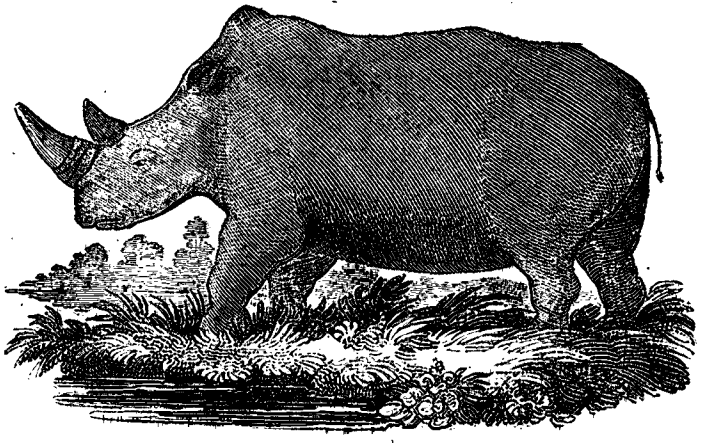
prisoners by them, and was forced to become their guide to Lattakoo. Their intention, he said, was to plunder the towns of Lattakoo and Kuruman, and then proceed towards Griqualand. He had told them, he added, that if they advanced to the southward they would meet with a powerful white people who would destroy them. To this they replied, that the white people were their fathers, and would do them no injury, but provide them with food. This man also confirmed the rumours which I had previously heard of there being white or rather yellow people among the Mantatees, armed with strange weapons, and wearing a cotton garment. In respect to their numbers, all the information we could obtain from these messengers was, that they were an innumerable multitude, "countless as the spikes of grass that wave on the plains of the wilderness."

15.—This being the sabbath, divine service was performed by the missionaries in the chapel. It was delivered in Dutch and translated into the Bechuana language by an interpreter. There was but a small attendance of the natives. Their worldly concerns might be supposed to engross them peculiarly at this moment; but at no time, the missionaries told me, has the attendance been considerable. It must, indeed, be a work of no common difficulty to impress the importance of religious truths on the minds of a people who, previous to the arrival of the missionaries, are said not to have had the slightest idea of a future state, and scarcely even a vague and glimmering notion of a deity. Much time and patience will doubtless be required from the pious labourers among them to effect their ultimate conversion. Yet, though few or no Christian converts have been made, it is not to be rashly imagined that no advantage has been gained, that no real progress has been effected. On the contrary, I conceive that what Messrs. Hamilton and Moffat have already done, is highly important in preparing the way for the future improvement of the Bechuana tribes. The inoffensive, disinterested, and prudent demeanour of these worthy men has already acquired for them

the entire confidence and respect of Mateebè and his people; and the example they have set before the natives of industry in cultivating the ground, and in the practice of irrigation, previously unknown here, is not likely to be thrown away upon this ingenious race of men.*

The secret council intimated yesterday was held upon a hill about five miles distant; all the warriors marching out in their several divisions and in solemn order to the place of convocation. The nature of the subjects discussed, or the result, was not made known.

* Since that time, I have learned that the practice of irrigation is fast gaining ground, and that great competition exists for the use of the water. This is a great step gained, and can scarcely fail to lead to others much more important.



CHAPTER X.

EXCURSION TO THE EASTWARD.—THE WANDERER AREND.—KURUMAN FOUNTAIN.—RETURN.—FURTHER RUMOURS OF THE INVADERS.—SECOND EXCURSION.—AREND'S ACCOUNT OF THE INTERIOR TRIBES.

JUNE 16.—Seeing no prospect of rendering my excursion available for commercial purposes, in the present alarmed and disorganized condition of the native tribes, and being consequently desirous of returning without delay to Cape Town, I resolved, nevertheless, to obtain, if possible, a nearer view of the formidable marauders of whom I had recently heard so much; or at least endeavour to procure some more authentic and direct information respecting them. I therefore stated to Mr. Moffat my intention of proceeding as far as Lattakoo for that purpose. Mr. Moffat immediately volunteered to accompany me; and, accordingly, we set off this morning about nine o'clock, attended by my Bechuana servant; and the waggon of the missionaries was

directed to follow us with all dispatch. The wondering inhabitants came out in multitudes to gaze at us, or rather at our horses, as we rode off,—for a horse here is almost as much an object of admiration as an elephant in England.

Our journey lay across a country thinly sprinkled with mimosa trees, and abounding with game, As we proceeded, immense plains opened interminably to our view, waving with a sea of grass. About two o'clock we reached the Maquareen River, where we purposed to await the arrival of the waggon, and to spend the night. Here, to our surprise, we found a waggon already outspanned, and a party of men along with it. Mr. Moffat immediately conjectured that this must be the party of one Arend, a runaway slave, of whom he had heard as a wanderer in these parts; and so it proved, for on approaching we discovered Arend seated in his waggon, with his gun in his hand, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity, for he had taken us for colonists coming to apprehend him. Matters being cleared up in this respect, we instantly came to a good understanding, and joined company. Arend informed us that he had belonged to a boor in the Sneeuwberg, but, being very cruelly used, had absconded from the Colony, about seven years ago, since which period he had been leading a wandering life among the tribes of the interior. By trafficking he had acquired some little property, being now possessed of a waggon, a musket, a considerable quantity of ivory, and about ninety head of cattle. His party consisted of an old Hottentot, named Cupido Kackerlackie and his wife, together with several Bechuanas of the Barolong, Morootzee, and Wankeet tribes, whom he had picked up in travelling among these nations. His last residence had been at Nokuning, a town already mentioned as lying to the eastward of Lattakoo. This place he had abandoned on the approach of the Mantatees, and he was now flying from these destroyers towards the south. Arend treated us with the broiled flesh of a springbok which he had just shot, and which we eat with much relish, with-

out either bread, salt, or any other sauce than a keen appetite. On the arrival of our waggon, we all gathered round a blazing fire, forming a motley groupe of very various lineage and complexion. The night was chill but serene, with a refulgent moon, illuminating the solitary wilds that environed us; and, while the social pipe fumed around the fire, Arend entertained us with many anecdotes of his own wild and wandering life, and of the barbarous tribes he had visited. He had accompanied the Rev. Mr. Campbell in his last journey, as far as Kurrechein, in the Morootzee country; and avowed his readiness to accompany me even to Delagoa Bay, were it not for the savage Mantatees—no other obstacle of any moment existing, as he conceived, to the accomplishment of such a journey.

Having a Jew's harp among the trinkets I had brought with me, I now presented it to Arend, who played on the simple instrument, to the astonishment of his wild retinue. After this serenade we all betook ourselves to repose, our swarthy companions coiling themselves up around the embers of the fire, while Mr. Moffat and I crept into the waggon, and soon sunk to sound repose amidst the melancholy howlings of the hyænas and jackals, which alone broke at times the deep silence of the wilderness.

17.—Our new acquaintance, Arend, having persuaded us that it was not prudent to pursue our journey farther, on account of the marauders straggling about the country, and finding, also, that the axle-tree of our waggon had given way, we determined on returning. We, therefore, ordered the people with the waggon to make the best of their way back, while Mr. Moffat and I directed our course towards the Kuruman Fountain, which we reached after a ride of about five hours.

This is probably the most abundant spring of water in South Africa. A considerable river bursts at once from the rock, by a number of broken passages in the side of a hill, forming a sort of cavern. Into this we penetrated about thirty feet, but without observing any thing remarkable. The water, as

it issued from the rock, felt at this time rather warm: in summer it is said to be cold as ice. In all probability it retains the same temperature at all times, from coming a long way under ground; the apparent changes being owing, in reality, to the varying sensations of those who examine it at different seasons. It is at least well known that many springs have gained the reputation of changing their temperature from no other cause. I could hear nothing of the great serpent mentioned by Lichtenstein as residing in this cavern, and which, he says, was regarded by the natives with sentiments of veneration. I doubt not, however, the truth of the report he mentions, for some species of the boa certainly exist in the country. This spot was the farthest extent of Lichtenstein's travels to the north,—that gentleman and his party having come by a route across the Bokkeveld and the great Karroo, and returned in the same track.

We followed the course of the river towards the town. On the banks of this stream I observed a species of antelope, that I had not previously seen. It is called by the Bechuanas *Paala*, and Mr. Burchell has described it under the name of the red buck. It is, I believe, the same animal termed *Riet-bok* by the colonists, from its inhabiting the spots along the rivers overgrown with reeds and sedge.

In the course of our journey to-day we fell in with some of the lowest class of the natives, commonly called "poor Bechuanas," who were employed in making poison for their arrows, by boiling a vegetable substance to a glutinous consistency. I could not, however, learn from them the name of the plant they used, nor whether they mixed the juice, as the Bushmen do, with mineral or animal poisons.

Our friends at Kuruman were surprised at our speedy return, not having expected us back in less than six or seven days. We found the anxiety and alarm of the natives increased by the arrival of messengers from Mahoomapelo, the chief of Nokuning, stating that the Mantatees had

sent to him two Barolong women, whom they had taken prisoners, directing them to say that they were coming to eat up the corn and cattle of all the Bechuanas, and that afterwards they would proceed against the Macooas (white people) in the south. The inhabitants of Kuruman appeared to be preparing actively for war; making great quantities of poisoned arrows and other arms; and were keeping up the war-dance by moonlight, the whole night long, to a sort of monotonous music.

18.—This day, at noon, arrived farther messengers from Nokuning, stating that the inhabitants had abandoned that town, and that the invaders were now within a short distance of it. The report of the King of the Tamachas being a prisoner in their hands, and forced to act as a guide, was also confirmed.

Great anxiety prevailed in the town. Mateebè had gone with some of the Chiefs, to the neighbouring towns, to raise more forces. The Matclhapees, it was evident, were but ill-prepared for resistance. We were not without apprehension, too, that the invaders, or some of their parties, might advance upon us suddenly before the Griquas could come up; and Mr. Moffat began, though with reluctance, to think of preparing for flight.

In the evening, while we were sitting conversing on these matters, some one thundered at the door, and, on its being opened, in rushed Sampin, one of Mateebè's captains, the very picture of terror and dismay. As soon as he could speak he called out "Mantatees! Mantatees!" to our no small alarm; for, from the extreme agitation of poor Sampin, we at first conceived that they were actually entering the town. However, we at length ascertained that this new alarm proceeded merely from certain intelligence having arrived of their entrance into Nokuning, accompanied by the usual extravagant exaggerations of their force and ferocity. Had Mr. Moffat and I continued our excursion we should have reached that place this evening, and might have run no small hazard of falling unawares among them. As

it was, however, matters now began to look rather serious. This fierce and formidable enemy was now within about eighty miles of us, which, at the rate the Bechuana and Caffer warriors frequently travel in their expeditions, was not three days' march. And as there were no sufficient precautions taken by the Bechuanas to prevent a surprise, by sending out scouts to watch their motions, we might, not improbably, be suddenly overwhelmed by these savages while we sat deliberating.

Sampin had not been long with us when about twenty other Bechuana Chiefs also rushed into the house, accompanied by the Queen, Mahoota, and her principal female attendants, all under the influence of great fear and perturbation. Mateebè himself was unfortunately absent. The queen, therefore, came to ask the advice of the missionaries in this alarming crisis, and, at their suggestion, sent off messengers immediately to hasten the king's return. On consulting with Mr. Hamilton, we also considered it proper to dispatch messengers towards Griqua Town to expedite the movements of the Griqua auxiliaries. In the meanwhile we endeavoured to encourage the Bechuanas to prepare manfully for their own defence, advising the chiefs to send to all their villages and outposts, to call out the inhabitants *en masse* to meet the enemy, and not to allow the cattle to be pastured in the direction from which they were expected. The entire want of any thing like a confederacy among the contiguous tribes of Bechuanas, or of any thing like system or decision in the plans for self-defence in the several communities, strikingly manifests their unwarlike character, and their unfitness to withstand such formidable assailants as those who were now destroying, piecemeal, their separate hordes.

19.—This morning brought us no news to relieve the alarm and anxiety of the preceding day. Mateebè had not returned, and there was no intelligence of the Griquas. The last gleams of hope and courage seemed to forsake the panic-struck Matclhapees. The cattle were now collected

and kept near the town. The people had begun to bury their most valuable effects, their corn, &c. in large earthen jars. The missionaries were likewise preparing their waggons, to fly at a moment's notice. There was no word of the messengers we had sent out; all was suspense and anxiety. In the town the most vague and contradictory rumours prevailed,—some persons coming in from the outposts contradicting the account of the Mantatees having entered Nokuning, alleging that they were still at a Barolong town a great distance off; others asserting that they were marching direct upon us. Mr. Moffat had previously assured me that no confidence could be placed in the rumours and stories of the Bechuanas, among whom veracity is a virtue little practised, and many of them are much given to romancing and the propagation of extravagant tales. As an example of their propensity for dealing in the marvellous, he instanced an absurd rumour, then current among them, that the white people in the south had been attacked by an army composed of myriads of pigmies, whose stature did not exceed six inches!

It now occurred to me, that, instead of longer enduring this state of suspense and anxiety, it would greatly relieve my own feelings, and at the same time, perhaps, materially add to the security of my friends, the missionaries, and of the distracted tribe among whom I was a visitor, if I proceeded myself, as I had formerly intended, to reconnoitre the host of marauders, and bring back some certain information respecting them. This resolution was no sooner formed than acted upon. Having got my knapsack supplied with some provisions, I set out, attended only by my Bechuana guide, and was out of sight of the town in a few minutes. Taking the same route which I had formerly pursued with Mr. Moffat, we reached the station of the slave Arend, on the Maquareen River, about three hours after sunset. Arend was still there with his party, but intended to fly next morning. On acquainting him,

however, with my design, he, after a little deliberation, agreed to accompany me to Lattakoo, in order to ascertain whether or not the enemy were advancing.

This being arranged, I joined the motley groupe around the fire. I lighted a segar, and the others betook themselves to their pipes, intermingling conversation with the tranquillizing fumes which poured around us. From these wandering men, Arend and his comrade old Cupido Kackerlackie, I learned some interesting particulars respecting the Bechuana tribes, and the country towards the north-east. Cupido, I found, had also accompanied Mr. Campbell on his last journey, and was the person who shot the remarkable rhinoceros, of whose head Mr. Campbell has given a drawing. The wanderers related many of their wild hunting adventures, especially in pursuit of the rhinoceros, which abounds in these regions, and is a very fierce and formidable animal.*

On again interrogating Arend as to the possibility of proceeding through the Bechuana tribes to Delagoa Bay, he stated, that but for the Mantatees he would willingly now have accompanied me thither, being acquainted with most of the native chiefs on the route. Not long ago he had been, he said, within a very short distance of that place. Being in want of clothing for his wife and child, he set out with the inten-

* Two distinct species of the two-horned rhinoceros are found in South Africa. The figure in the vignette at page 110 was drawn from life by Mr. Melvill, and conveys an accurate representation of the species which abounds most in the Bechuana country. The horn of the female is, however, much longer and more slender than that of the male; I have one in my possession, three and a half feet long. Being a strong, ponderous, and elastic substance, it is much prized by the natives for handles to their battle-axes. The secondary horn is, in many instances, and especially in the female, so small as to be scarcely perceptible at a little distance. The general figure of the rhinoceros is that of an enormous hog. His prodigious size and strength, and his destructive horn, point out this animal, in my apprehension, very distinctly as the real unicorn of Scripture—a conclusion in which I have been anticipated by Burchell and other scientific travellers, and which is now, I believe, generally concurred in.

tion of going to Delagoa Bay to purchase some, but when within about a day's journey of the Portuguese settlement, he procured the goods he wanted from the natives, and returned without going farther. He gave me a piece of chintz which he procured in this manner, and which is of Indian manufacture. On this excursion, which he computed to be about ten days' easy journey, he travelled through a fine country very thickly inhabited. I requested him to detail, in regular order, the various places he had visited on this excursion, which he accordingly did to the following effect.

Leaving Lattakoo, which belongs to the Matclhapee tribe, and of which Levenkels is now chief, under Mateebè, he proceeded to Nokuning about eighteen miles distant. The chief of this place, Mahoomapelo, has been already mentioned. From Nokuning to the chief town of the Barolongs, he took three days. The chief or king of this tribe is called Mashow, which name Mr. Campbell has by mistake transferred to the town, calling the king, Kousie, which is not his name, but his title, *kousi* signifying king or principal chief in their language. From the Barolong to the Marootzee tribe he was about five days. From thence one day brought him to Kapan, chief of the Manemagans, a very large tribe. Another day brought him to King Lasak of the Maqueens. From the residence of this chief to Delagoa Bay was two days' easy journey. The mountains in the Maqueen country, as described by him, agree with those mentioned by Captain Owen, as visible from the vicinity of Delagoa Bay.

I endeavoured to ascertain from Arend, whether any thing was known among these tribes of the actual fate of Dr. Cowan's party. It had been stated, on the authority of the Matclhapee chiefs, that this unfortunate band of travellers had been destroyed by Makabba, King of the Wankeets, a chief still living. This account Arend (in the same manner as the Griquas, formerly mentioned,) affirmed to be altogether erro-

neous, and invented by the other tribes, by whom Makabba is generally disliked and dreaded, to render that chief obnoxious to the colonists. From a similar spirit, a son of Makabba's, who recently visited Kuruman, had likewise represented his father as the murderer of Cowan, with the view of prejudicing the missionaries against him, and obtaining their influence to aid him in raising an expedition to attack his father, against whom he had rebelled, and whom he was then plotting to supplant. But, in contradiction of these allegations, Arend stated that he had himself visited Makabba, at Melita, his chief town, which is a very large and populous place; that he had been treated in the most hospitable and generous manner, and had received from him considerable presents of ivory and cattle; and that the notorious outlaw Conrad Buys was living in ease and safety in Makabba's dominions, and had received from him, on his arrival, a present of fifty head of cattle. In regard to Cowan's party, he added that it is currently reported among the Wankeets that the strangers had received every civility in passing through their country, but had been murdered by some people considerably beyond them whose name he could not ascertain. This information perfectly coincides with what Captain Owen learned upon this subject from the natives on the east coast.

Arend added, that among these tribes, the chief danger to travellers arises from the suspicion of their being spies, of which there is great jealousy. On this account he considers it expedient for travellers to remain about ten days at the principal town of each tribe, in order to acquire the confidence of the chiefs and obtain their free permission to pass through their territories.

During this conversation all our companions had fallen fast asleep round the fire; and Arend and I, at length wearied out, also wrapped our mantles around us and stretched ourselves beside them.

CHAPTER XI.

JOURNEY TO LATTAKOO.—STRANGE APPEARANCE OF THAT TOWN RECENTLY DESERTED.—RENCOUNTER WITH THE HOST OF MANTATEES.—RETURN TO THE KURUMAN.—PREPARATIONS FOR FLIGHT.

JUNE 20.—At break of day awoke under a heavy load of dew; the morning very chill. Shook the dew from our clothes, and Arend and I, mounting two of my best horses, immediately set off, leaving my Bechuana guide with Arend's party to await our return. We soon entered on a plain, perfectly level, covered with fine grass, and bounded on all sides only by the horizon. As we proceeded, I observed a curious optical deception, similar to the *mirage* so often noticed by travellers in Africa: it seemed to the eye as if we were in a basin, and that the country continually rose before and around us at every step, while we appeared still at the lowest focus, although in fact the ground was perfectly level, without the slightest wave or rise in any direction. The roads made by the natives are exactly like sheep-paths, and indeed with difficulty to be distinguished from those made by the quaghas and antelopes; for the Bechuanas, like the Caffers, when travelling, always follow each other in a line.

Having saddled and refreshed our horses at a fountain several hours on our road, we pushed on, and, after descending a gentle eminence, reached the spot where the old town of Lattakoo stood, when first visited by Messrs.

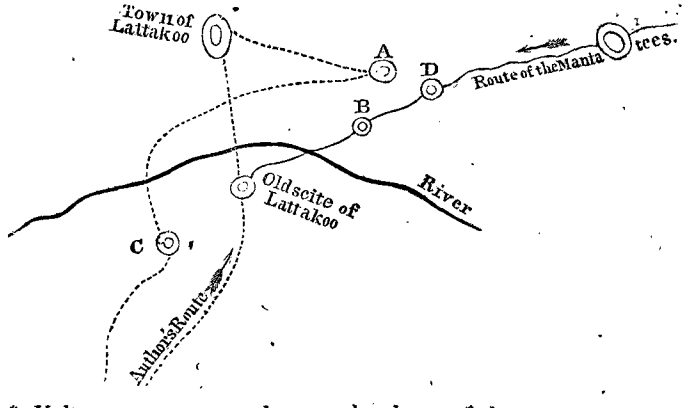
Somerville and Truter, and afterwards by Mr. Campbell, and then containing a population of about 15,000 souls. On the death of Mallahawan, father of Mateebè, the town was removed, according to the custom of the country, to another site, where the present town of Lattakoo stands, about five miles to the north-east. From this place Mateebè again removed to the Kuruman, with one division of the nation, some years ago, leaving another division under a subordinate chief to occupy the deserted capital.

Having crossed the bed of the Lattakoo river, which at present was only a chain of pools, a gentle eminence covered with fine grass, and adorned with beautiful camel-thorn trees, opened to our view the expected town at a little distance. As we approached, I was delighted to see the extensive fields of millet spreading on every side, which indicated that the inhabitants of the old capital were considerably more industrious, or more successful agriculturists, than those who had emigrated with the king. The unusually still and solitary appearance, however, of those fields, and the town itself, which we were now approaching, rather struck me; and I said to my companion, "Let us ride gently, and keep a sharp look out; perhaps the place is already in possession of the enemy." We proceeded accordingly with some caution, and, on entering the town, found it as I had begun to surmise, entirely deserted by the inhabitants. We rode into the heart of it without seeing a human being; and a place which, a few hours ago, had contained a population of six or eight thousand souls, was now as solitary and silent as the most secluded wilderness. On looking into some of the huts, we perceived that the inhabitants must have fled in great haste, for the implements of cookery were standing with the food in them, half dressed. It was, therefore, pretty evident that the approach of the enemy had taken them somewhat by surprise; and we naturally inferred that the invaders could not be far distant. I said, however, to Arend, that perhaps some old or infirm people might still remain out of such a large population, and that we would

try whether the report of a musket would bring them from their lurking places. Taking aim at a large white vulture,* which sat perched like the genius of desolation upon a tall camel-thorn that shaded the residence of some chieftain, I brought him fluttering to the ground. But the report died away in solitary echoes; not a living thing greeted our presence.

"And now," said Arend, "let us retreat. The town has been hurriedly abandoned by the inhabitants; the savages must be at hand; your horses are weak with long travelling, and fatigued with this day's journey; if we venture farther they will give up, and we shall fall helpless into the hands of those murderous cannibals." That there was sense and prudence in this advice I could not deny, but to follow it would have but ill served the purpose I came upon: so I told Arend we must proceed until we gained some more certain intelligence of the invaders to carry back to our friends. Desiring him, therefore, to guide me on towards Nokuning, we left old Lattakoo, standing "a desolate city of the desert," and pushed on, though with circumspection, towards the north-east.

Our way for a few miles lay among clumps of fine camel-thorn trees, without any path,—the road from Nokuning leading direct to the former site of Lattakoo upon the west side of the river, as will be perceived by the subjoined sketch. When we had got the length of A, still un-



* *Vultur percnopterus*, the sacred vulture of the ancient Egyptians.

determined whether or not to proceed farther on our weary steeds, we stopped for a few moments, being very thirsty, to deliberate about venturing down to the river to refresh ourselves, and consider what farther course we should adopt; and we had just come to the resolution of descending to the valley, when Arend suddenly called to me with great agitation—"The Mantatees! the Mantatees!—we are surrounded!" On looking towards the spot B, to which he pointed, I beheld them sure enough marching in an immense black mass in the valley below us, and pushing on towards the river. Arend, with considerable presence of mind, immediately said—"Don't move, else they will perceive us." Accordingly we remained for some time motionless as the trees around us, and observed, through the avenues of the umbrella-shaped camel-thorns, the motions of the barbarians. We soon saw that they had not perceived us by their continuing their course towards the river, trampling into blackness the grassy meadows over which they passed. Though somewhat relieved from our first alarm by observing their route, we could not help throwing suspicious glances, every now and then, around us, apprehensive lest some other division should intercept our retreat in the opposite direction; and every old stump of wood, seen indistinctly through the copses, seemed to our eyes like straggling Mantatees. At the same time, I was exceedingly gratified at having found such an opportunity of observing them from so favourable a position. Yet I was still anxious to get a nearer view, and therefore suggested to Arend that we should try our horses' mettle, and endeavour to gain a front position on the rising ground above the former site of Lattakoo; whence we might reconnoitre them more advantageously, and perhaps gain some information from them, without being liable to be surrounded.

This manœuvre was easily executed. Retreating from A, (the farthest limit of my travels in this direction,) we left the town of Lattakoo on our

right, and crossing the river, at the same time that the van of the enemy was rushing into the pools a few hundred yards higher up, we spurred on our horses, which made greater exertions than I expected, and gained the position C, which overlooks the former site of the town, as already mentioned. About five or six houses still remained on that site, and we had not gained our position five minutes when we saw the savages rushing into those huts like hungry wolves. At the same moment they discovered us, and presently a large body advanced up the hill towards us. I now hesitated a moment whether to wait their approach and endeavour to enter into a conference, or consult our safety by flight. My companion strongly urged the extreme hazard of allowing them to approach us, alleging that they would instantly surround and probably kill us with their missiles, without admitting of a parley; or should our lives be spared, our horses at least would not fail to be instantly devoured by the hungry cannibals, and ourselves probably forced to become their guides to Kuruman, instead of being enabled to warn our friends of their approach. These reflections were just, and my own judgment concurred in them; so, without longer deliberation, for which indeed the rapid advance of the savages allowed us no leisure, we put spurs to our horses, and galloped to another eminence at a little distance.

Here we again turned to survey the enemy, and lingered a short space to see whether they were pursuing us; but perceiving nothing of them, we again pushed forward upon the extensive plain over which we had come in the morning. We had scarcely left the last eminence a few minutes and advanced about 500 yards upon the plain, when, looking back, we saw the height we had just left, occupied by a crowd of the enemy. The cunning rascals had come unperceived up a ravine, and if we had not started off at the instant we did, we should have been surrounded before we could have noticed their advance. They did not attempt to pursue us farther, but stood earnestly gazing after us, as far as we could discern them from the plain.

After riding about ten miles farther we reached a fountain, where we stopped to quench our burning thirst, and refresh ourselves and the horses; the poor animals and ourselves being alike exhausted by the long exertion and excessive heat of the weather.

On reviewing our morning's expedition, I could not but reflect on my adventure with the highest satisfaction and gratitude: satisfaction, at having been enabled to obtain such a near view of this savage host, and to carry certain information to Kuruman; and gratitude to Providence for my fortunate escape; for had I been an hour later on my journey, I should have rode right into the town, mistaking them for the Bechuana inhabitants; or had I been but a few minutes sooner at the point A, I should have come in contact with them exactly at point D, while their march was concealed by the windings of the valley. My view of them was, however, too distant and hurried to enable me to gain at that time any accurate information respecting their arms or accoutrements. Of their numbers it would be idle for me to attempt forming any estimate. They appeared to be a very numerous body, and covered a very extensive tract of ground: but if even general officers, accustomed to estimate with a glance the numbers of disciplined troops, are often egregiously mistaken in guessing the amount of disorderly multitudes, how much more is an unpractised eye, like mine, likely to be mistaken in such an attempt. I, therefore, refrain from mentioning any number, since I could not thereby convey any real information.

The sun was now fast approaching the horizon, beyond the boundless plain of Lattakoo, when we again mounted our weary steeds. Though now unable to raise a canter we urged them into a jolting pace, which brought us, about eight o'clock, to Arend's station; the hardy animals having carried us to-day not much less than eighty miles, without any other forage than they could hastily pick up while we rested at the fountains.

I immediately ordered my other two horses to be saddled, being

anxious to reach Kuruman before I slept. Leaving, therefore, the horses we had rode to be brought up the next day, I pushed on with my Bechuana guide; and after a few hours gallop, lighted by a bright and cloudless moon, arrived at Kuruman a little before midnight, having travelled this day about 100 miles. Mr. Moffat was surprised by my returning so speedily; for the report of the Mantatees having entered a town of the Barolongs, at a great distance, had been so strongly confirmed, that not only the Bechuanas but the Missionaries had been deceived: they were all lulled into security, and had not expected me back for several days. Whether those false reports had been occasioned by any division of the invaders having turned off in another direction, I could not ascertain; but the infatuation of the Bechuanas, in not sending out scouts to bring them certain intelligence of the movements of so formidable an enemy, seemed unaccountable.

The tidings of my return speedily flew through the town, and Mr. Moffat's house was instantly beset, even at this late hour, by a concourse of the natives. The principal chiefs gathered round, and begged to put one particular question to me through Mr. Moffat, namely, "Whether I, with my own two eyes, actually saw the Mantatees?" placing at the same time a finger opposite to each of my eyes. Mr. Moffat told them that they might depend implicitly upon the correctness of my information; that it had been acquired by ocular observation; and that my report was not the report of a *Bechuana*, but the true statement of a *Macooa*. The chiefs smiled at this remark, well aware of the failing of their countrymen.

As soon as we got rid of the natives, the Missionaries immediately commenced burying their most valuable property in their gardens. Flight now appeared inevitable, since the Griqua auxiliaries had not come up, whose delay we could not account for.

21.—Notwithstanding my fatiguing ride yesterday, I only lay down to rest for two hours. The Missionaries did not sleep at all, being engaged

during the whole night in making preparations for immediate flight. At break of day I strolled into the town, and found it all astir, like an ant's-nest disturbed by the mattock; and the frightened Matclhapees moving to and fro with none to direct them, for the king was not yet returned. At length the chief, old Teysho, took upon himself to order a general evacuation of the town. At eight o'clock this was rapidly going forward. Hundreds of pack-oxen were continually moving off to the westward, loaded with the most valuable effects of the inhabitants, consisting of utensils of various kinds, wooden and earthen vessels, red paint-stone, powder of the *blink-klip*, corn, carosses, &c. &c. Meanwhile the lowing of the cattle, the wailing of women and children, the feeble and tottering gait of the old and infirm, hurriedly moved from their mats of repose to seek safety in flight, and the sullen despondency of the warriors, formed altogether a scene of distress extremely touching and pitiable.

On my return to Mr. Moffat's house, I found there also every thing prepared for immediate flight. The Missionaries, finding that the Bechuanas had sent out no scouts, had resolved to leave the town before mid-day, with their waggons and families, unless our friends, the Griquas, appeared for their protection.

About nine o'clock, while we were waiting in a state of apprehension and anxiety, the report of a musket was suddenly heard from the entrance of the town, and this instantly followed by a second. A shout of exultation from the Bechuanas announced two Griqua horsemen. These were *avant-couriers*, sent on before to announce the advance of their countrymen, whom they had left about forty miles behind, tarrying to refresh their horses; and who, they said, would not arrive till the following day, unless there was urgent occasion; in which case, one of the messengers was to return and give them notice. This matter admitted of little debate. One of the horsemen was instantly dispatched to expedite the movements

of his party, with urgent entreaties that they would make a forced march and join the Bechuanas before they had wholly fled and deserted the town.

We then endeavoured to persuade the pusillanimous inhabitants to remain quiet and await the arrival of the Griquas. To this proposition the warriors in general agreed; but the principal part of the women, children, and aged, had already departed with their most precious goods and household stuff. Having then prevailed upon them to send out scouts as far as the Maquareen River to observe the motions of the enemy, and bring instant intelligence should they advance, we felt in some degree relieved from the uneasy and awkward predicament in which the morning had found us.

At noon the king returned. He seemed much disturbed by the posture of affairs, and immediately put to me the same question as the chiefs had formerly put: i. e. whether I had actually seen the Mantatees "with my own eyes?" The natives seeing us resolved to await the arrival of the Griquas, took confidence and remained also.

Nevertheless, as the day advanced, we did not ourselves feel quite so much at ease as we found it politic to profess. There was no intelligence from our scouts; but we were aware, that if the savages pursued their march the day after I saw them, they might reach Kuruman this evening. We flattered ourselves that such an event was rather improbable, and that the plunder of Lattakoo would detain them at least a day. When the night came on, however, and darkness increased our apprehensions of being surrounded, with no appearance of the Griquas, and with the entire conviction of the incapacity of the Bechuanas to make any stand against the invaders, our feelings, as may be easily imagined, were far from being of a pleasant nature. The warriors in the town were indeed all awake and watchful; but we knew that if the enemy came on before the Griquas, they were ready to fly, without the slightest resistance, to join the women in the

mountains. Thus we waited and watched till nine o'clock in the morning, often laying our listening ears to the ground, and endeavouring to catch the distant sound of trampling horses; but all was hushed in deathlike silence, and our imaginations were left to conjure up the picture of the immense cannibal host stealing upon us through the gloom, like hungry hyænas. At length, wearied out with fatigue and watching, the Missionaries and I retired to snatch a little rest, with our loaded guns at our sides, and all prepared for the earliest notice of danger.

After a broken slumber of about two hours, I was awakened by the loud barking of the dogs, and went out to ascertain the cause. All else was still; but finding some Bechuanas seated round a fire, with my guide among them, I called him, and took him with me to the king; whom I made bold to call up, and urged upon him the necessity of sending out more scouts to watch the approach of the enemy.

CHAPTER XII.

ARRIVAL OF THE GRIQUAS.—ANOTHER PEETSHO.—FRIENDSHIP AND FESTIVITY.—RETURN TOWARDS THE COLONY.—BAROLONG REFUGEE.---PASSAGE OF THE GARIEP.---KORANNA KRAAL.

JUNE 22.---In this state of feverish anxiety we remained till dawn of day; when the Missionaries, despairing of the Griquas, ordered the oxen to be put to their waggons, in order to retreat with their families without farther delay. The Bechuanas, on seeing this, abandoned all hope of succour, and, having no confidence in themselves, prepared also for instant flight.

At this moment a cloud of dust was observed to the southward. It rapidly approached, and, to our unspeakable joy, a troop of horsemen,---our long looked-for allies, the Griquas,---emerged from it, and entered the town at full gallop. Though neither disciplined nor accoutred like regular troops, and dressed in a garb both motley and ragged, yet, with their glittering muskets and bold bearing, they had a very martial appearance; and were hailed with demonstrations of pleasure and admiration, such as the finest troops in the world have rarely met with. The air was rent with shouts of acclamation: never before had such horses, such muskets, such military array, been seen in the land of the Matclhapees. They came as defenders in the hour of need, and they were hailed by the paralysed natives as champions and heroes. All crowded round them; and with kindred sympathy I also shook their

swarthy chiefs heartily by the hand, and felt relieved, by their arrival, from almost intolerable anxiety. By means of my horses, I might, indeed, have made my own escape from the savages without much difficulty; but I could not think of thus abandoning the Missionaries, or even the poor Matclhapees, in such critical circumstances.

The Griquas were under the command of the chiefs Adam and Cornelius Kok, Berend, and Waterboer. Though not exceeding eighty in number, yet they appeared a very formidable force, contrasted with the ill-armed and unwarlike Bechuanas.

The cause of their tardy movements was the fear of exhausting their horses before they came in contact with the enemy; as it was probable, from the immense disproportion of numbers, that they must maintain a flying fight, to prevent their little troop from being surrounded. On meeting with our last messenger, they had, however, pressed on with all speed till they reached, about midnight, a spot within two miles of Kuruman. Here they held a consultation; and from the report of the messengers, fearing that the enemy were already in possession of the town, and that we had fled, they considered it expedient to postpone their advance until daylight, when they could clearly distinguish friends from foes, and avoid falling into any ambush. They had now advanced with the design of attacking the Mantatees, if they had been in possession of the place, but were not a little gratified to find that they were in good time to defend rather than avenge us.

King Mateebè expressed his gratitude to the Griqua chiefs in a short speech, not devoid of grace and eloquence, and immediately ordered six oxen to be slain for their refreshment. A scene of savage feasting instantly commenced; and even before the blood was out of the slaughtered animals, their legs were cut off, and the marrow sucked out of the bones by the hungry Griquas, without any preparation.

The news of their arrival was soon carried to the fugitives who had left

the town on the preceding day, and before noon numbers of them were seen flocking home from the westward. All was now animation and activity. The two Missionaries were busied repairing muskets, several of those of our allies being out of order; many of the Griquas were employed in casting bullets; and the Matclhapee warriors, with renovated confidence, were burnishing their assagais and whetting their battle-axes.

After mid-day, the king convened another Peetsho, at which the Griquas were requested to attend. The war-dance and song were again displayed by the Bechuanas, assembling in wild array as on the former occasion. The Griquas also marched to the place of assembly in regular order, under their different leaders, with their arms shouldered, to the great admiration of the multitude. Adam Kok borrowed my double-barrelled gun to cut a dash with. A place of distinction was allotted for the allies, who seated themselves on the ground, like the native warriors, holding their arms erect.

The king opened the meeting by a speech in praise of the Macooas and the Griquas. He mentioned with high encomiums the exertions made by the Missionaries and myself for the public benefit, and hailed with many grateful compliments the arrival in the hour of need of the Griqua allies. Several of the other chiefs followed in the same strain; but when old Teysho stood up, he turned to his countrymen with a bitter and upbraiding look, taunted many of the warriors with their weak-hearted conduct the preceding day, and told them that they had disgraced themselves and the name of their nation in the sight of the bold Macooas; and that, unless they now redeemed their character by standing firm in the day of battle, they would be considered by other nations as women and children.

During Teysho's speech, a woman of heroic mien rushed from the midst of her companions, contrary to the custom of her country, and addressed the Griquas with much energy:—

"Ye Griquas! should any of my countrymen turn their backs in the day

of battle, shoot them, destroy them without mercy; such cowards deserve not to live." These words she repeated with violent and indignant gestures.

Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, next addressed the meeting, in the Bechuana language, which he spoke with fluency. He declared that it gave him and his companions the highest satisfaction to know it was in their power to aid, with their muskets, their worthy friends, the Matclhapees, at the same time that they were guarding their own wives and children from the advance of the savage enemy.

After some farther speeches, chiefly of compliment and ceremony, Mateebè concluded the Peetsho with an appropriate speech. The assembly was then dissolved in the same mode as the preceding one, and a general feasting commenced throughout the town, at which all classes, both of Bechuanas and Griquas, gave themselves up to indulgence, without regard to the imminent danger which still threatened them. The Missionaries opened their chapel, and invited the people to unite with them in imploring the divine protection, but only a few of the more sober Griquas attended. Soon after, some of the scouts, who had been sent out, returned with intelligence that the Mantatees were still at Lattakoo, regaling themselves on the provisions which the inhabitants had left in their hurried flight. This intelligence was also corroborated by some fugitive Bushmen who had met with the Mantatees. They had been hunting, and had just slain a quagha, when they were set upon by a party of the marauders, and deprived of their prey. One of them had received a severe wound in the thigh, from some large cutting weapon, different from any of the arms of the Bechuana tribes.

Relieved from any immediate apprehension by this intelligence, the warriors of both nations devoted themselves, without control, to feasting and merriment. More cattle were slain, and the roasting and riot went on around the fires without intermission, as if they expected to eat no more for a month to come. The greatest good-humour, however, prevailed. There

was no strong drink—no quarrelling. Many of the Bechuanas selected *maats* or comrades, after their manner, from among their allies, presenting, in a formal manner, an ox to the individual pitched upon. The Griqua thus selected becomes the favoured guest and friend of the donor; the obligation is considered reciprocal, and when he who is now the host visits his *maat* in his own country, he expects a similar present, and equal hospitality to what he has bestowed.

This evening, wearied out with three days and nights of fatigue and watching, I retired early to bed, and to deep and undisturbed repose, leaving the natives to their boisterous mirth and barbarous indulgence.

23.—This morning, finding that the Griqua chiefs did not intend moving forward against the invaders for two or three days at soonest, because they were desirous both to refresh their horses and to await the arrival of a reinforcement of their countrymen; and conceiving that their slow movements would not bring them into contact with the Mantatees for probably a week to come, I determined to forego the temptation of accompanying the expedition, and to return without farther delay to Cape Town, where I had business of importance awaiting me. I therefore ordered my guide to prepare our horses, and having taken a kind farewell of the Missionaries, and bid adieu to Mateebè and the Griqua chiefs, I once more turned my face southward, leaving now my Kuruman friends under far more favourable circumstances than I could have done a day or two before. I also considered it my duty (however sanguine my own hopes of the favourable result of the approaching conflict with the savages) to give speedy information of the actual state of affairs to the provincial functionaries near the northern borders of the Colony, and to the Governor himself at Cape Town; for should the Griquas be defeated, there could scarcely be a doubt that this horde of devastators would burst into the Colony, and might possibly create infinite alarm, and do much mischief before they were driven back, unless some precautionary measures were

adopted. What rendered the result of the conflict more doubtful, was the very scanty supply of ammunition in the possession of the Griquas, amounting altogether to only about fifty pounds of gunpowder. This important deficiency was, indeed, a much more alarming circumstance than either the reputed valour or the immense numbers of the invaders.

About eight or ten miles from Kuruman, I met Mr. Melvill with another party of Griqua horsemen proceeding to join their comrades. Mr. Melvill gave me charge of his dispatches to Cape Town, and begged me to represent the critical situation of affairs to the Colonial Government.

About thirty miles farther on I found another party of the Griqua auxiliaries resting at a fountain, consisting of twenty horsemen, and about fifty men with waggons and pack-oxen, all proceeding on this warlike expedition,—the greatest, certainly, they ever were engaged in since they became a community. Having urged this band to hasten on without delay to the support of their comrades, I proceeded on my way, having still about twenty miles to ride before I reached the little Griqua kraal where Mr. Moffat and I had slept on our way northward. The hardy little horse I rode, being the same on which I had reconnoitred the Mantatees, began to lag about sunset, and I had some apprehension of having another *bivouac* in the wilderness; but the bright silver moon, which so often cheers the wanderer in South Africa, arose to guide me, and my mettlesome steed, knowing he was near home (for he belonged to one of the Griquas whose kraal I was approaching), put forth his utmost strength, and brought me safely to his master's hut about nine o'clock.

The two Griquas, masters of the kraal, had gone on the expedition, but their wives afforded me every accommodation their rude and scanty means could supply; and having brought with me a little tea, presented to me by the Missionaries, I soon made myself comfortable. In the service of these Griquas were a number of Koranna Hottentots, and "tamed Bushmen,"

who all sat round the same fire with me, and were all, like myself, engaged in smoking. My slight apparatus, which consisted merely of a little bruised tobacco wrapped in a slip of paper, after the Portuguese fashion, seemed to excite the surprise and contempt of these knowing smokers. Their own method was more social and luxurious than mine. Taking the hollow shank-bone of a sheep, from which they had previously sucked the marrow, they stuffed it full of tobacco, and lighting one end at the fire, immediately applied the other to the mouth—inhaling the smoke with all their might until it escaped by both mouth and nostrils. The pipe was then handed to another, and in this manner continued to circulate round the happy group.

24.—This day I reached Griqua Town, after a very fatiguing ride, in which my other two borrowed horses were quite knocked up. I was obliged to leave my attendant upon the road, but having sent men and horses from the town to meet him, he was brought in the same evening.

I found here a man of the Barolong tribe, who had been that day found in the neighbourhood nearly exhausted with hunger and thirst. Through the medium of some Bechuanas residing at Griqua Town, I learned from him that he had been driven from his country (which lies about 100 miles north-east from Lattakoo) by the invaders, whom he called *Batcloqueenè*. These savages, he said, had committed terrible devastation throughout that country, and the fear of them had fallen upon the whole of the Bechuana tribes, so that none were found to stand up against them. Their perfidy, according to his account, was equal to their ferocity. On approaching the town he resided in, they sent messengers before them with a present of three oxen to the chief, soliciting the friendship of the tribe. The weak Barolongs, thus deceived by the show of friendship, or fearing to oppose them, admitted them into their town; but they had no sooner got among them, than they began an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants and plunder of the

place. In this manner, he said, many tribes had been treacherously overpowered and destroyed by them.

They were directed, he said, by two chiefs: the name of the one was Malahange; that of the other he did not recollect. Their dress he described as different from that of the Bechuanas, but said that part of them spoke the Bechuana language, another part a foreign dialect; part he also described as having beards, long hair, and strange weapons.

This account seemed to corroborate the surmise which had already suggested itself to me, that these marauders were a mixture of different nations, and had with them some bastard Portuguese, or the descendants of Europeans formerly wrecked on the eastern coast of Africa.

The poor Barolong appeared to have suffered much hardship during his flight from his own country; and several of his companions, it seems, who had fled with him, had died of thirst, only about two miles from Griqua Town, before he was fallen in with and saved from perishing.

25.—Finding the four horses, which I had left here to recruit, in pretty good plight, I started at an early hour, with my knapsack replenished by Mrs. Melvill's kindness, and my faithful man Frederick behind me. After a ride of five hours, we reached the banks of the Gariep, at Read's-Drift. The country through which we passed, and the environs of the river, were too similar to the scenes I have already noticed to require farther description; only the river was here broader than at any of the fords I had formerly crossed, the collected waters of the two great branches being here united. The task of crossing it on horseback seemed so formidable that my courage almost recoiled from the attempt; but, as there was no alternative, in we plunged, and we found the water indeed quite as deep as might be crossed with safety. Our horses, however, were fresh and tractable, and by keeping their heads to the stream, we got through, though not without some difficulty and apprehension,—

having our steeds for a considerable way swimming under us, with the water over the saddle flaps. The breadth I calculated to be about 500-yards: when Burchell crossed at the same drift, it was 450. The banks on either side were covered with the wrecks of last year's inundation, showing what a mighty torrent of water it must pour down at certain periods.

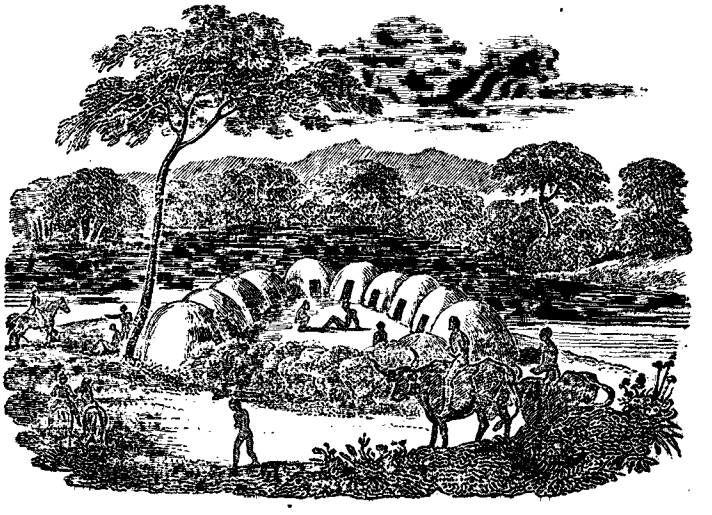
Soon after crossing the river, we fell in with a Griqua hut, where I procured some milk; and having let the horses roll a little while, I again saddled up to proceed. The Griqua then came forward and inquired where we intended to sleep that night. I replied "In the wilds." At this he shook his head, and said that the lions would devour us before morning, these animals being very numerous and ferocious in this neighbourhood. I inquired if there was any human dwelling on our route which might be reached before dark. He said there was a Koranna kraal, but somewhat distant and difficult to find without a guide acquainted with its situation. With little persuasion, he agreed to accompany me so far, and in a few minutes saddled up a pony and cantered on along with us.

Our nearest route would have been from Read's-Drift, right across the country to Burder's Plains or Lake; but, owing to the want of water at this time, we were obliged to skirt the banks of the Gariep, and afterwards the Cradock, as far as the ford, where I had first crossed the latter. The country through which we passed was much encumbered with the accursed *Haak-doorn* or *Wagt een beetje*, (*Acacia detinens,*) from which I had formerly suffered so severely; and was strewed with crystals and small agates, of which, however, very few are of any value.

About three hours after sunset we reached the Koranna kraal, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who flocked around me with suspicious curiosity. After a brief explanation from my Griqua guide, however, they gave us a hospitable welcome; and their own huts being all fully occupied, they instantly set about erecting a temporary shelter for my accommodation. This

was soon accomplished. Having driven four or five stakes into the ground, in a semi-circular position, they took a rush mat about eight feet long and three broad, and binding it to the stakes with one edge close to the ground, a screen was thus formed sufficient to protect me from the night-wind, which blew sharp and cold. In front of this crescent they made a fire, and an old matron brought me some milk in a wooden bowl; and thus my comforts were complete,—with a good fire, and shelter from the wind, and from the wild beasts of the desert. I spread under me a warm Bechuana mantle of jackal-skins, with which Mrs. Melvill had kindly provided me; and, taking out my papers, began to note down my daily memoranda. This excited, more than any thing else about me, the curiosity of the simple Korannas. Old and young flocked near to gaze upon me; and when I looked up, more than thirty faces were peering around, indicating every gradation of savage wonder, such as a Wilkie would rejoice to delineate. This speedily devolved into good humoured merriment when they saw me commence smoking my paper segar. I made a few and presented to them, which they instantly began to smoke in imitation of me, passing them from one to another with much laughter.

The novelty of my visit seemed to have awakened general hilarity, and I carried on a conversation as well as I could through two interpreters; my Griqua guide translating it into his own dialect to Frederick, who again conveyed it to me in Dutch. At length all began to get drowsy. My visitors stole off one by one to their cabins; and I, wrapping myself in my fur mantle, resigned myself to sleep. During the night my rest was much disturbed, partly by the cattle which came snuffing round me, as if sensible I was a stranger, and partly by a violent squall of wind, accompanied by a slight rain, which about midnight had nearly carried off my frail shelter. Nevertheless, I felt on the whole somewhat more comfortable than when exposed to the lions in the lonely deserts.



CHAPTER XIII.

KORANNAS.—BIVOUAC ON THE BANKS OF THE CRADOCK.—ESTERHUYZEN'S KRAAL.—MIGRATORY SPRINGBOKS.—JOURNEY THROUGH THE NIEUWVELD.—VILLAGE OF BEAUFORT.

JUNE 26.—On awaking at dawn of day, a curious scene presented itself to me. I was in the midst of a considerable kraal, situated on a ridge of land which commanded an extensive view of the windings of the Great River. The kraal, or cattle-fold, was formed partly by the cabins of the natives arranged in the shape of a half moon, and partly by a hedge of thorns which completed the circle. The prefixed vignette, sketched on the spot, will convey some idea of the scenery. The horde consisted of about

fifty souls, and were in possession of above 200 cattle. Their huts, all fronting inward to the kraal, are constructed of mats stretched over a frame of sticks in the shape of a bee-hive, and afford but an indifferent shelter in cold weather; but they are easily removed with them on their pack-oxen, as they migrate from place to place; and seem quite to satisfy their ideas of comfort, though excessively dirty and swarming with vermin.

These Korannas do not differ very greatly in manners or appearance from the Namaqua Hottentots. Like them they wear the old sheep-skin dress, and preserve the original customs of their nation, which were described by Kolben a hundred years ago, but which the Hottentots in the Colony have long ago abandoned and forgotten. Some of their common customs which I myself witnessed indicated, certainly, a very low state of both mental and physical refinement—much lower than that of the Caffers. They are, however, a good-natured, and, on the whole, a good-looking race, having many of them fine formed heads and prominent features. They lead an indolent, wandering life, living chiefly on the milk of their cattle, and seldom roaming far from the banks of the Gariep and its tributary branches. Their cattle much resemble those of the Bechuana and Caffer tribes, being smaller than the Colonial breed, or that of the Namaquas. Some of their kraals possess also goats and sheep.*

* I again borrow one of Mr. Pringle's African sketches to diversify my pages:—

THE KORANNA.

Fast by his wild resounding river
The listless Koran lingers ever;
Still drives his heifers forth to feed,
Sooth'd by the gorrah's humming reed;†

† A musical instrument of very simple construction, peculiar to the Hottentot tribes. It is described both by Lichtenstein and Burchell.

Having rewarded the Griqua who had guided me hither, I bade adieu to these simple and good-humoured sons of the wilderness, who, previous to my departure, filled my two holster bottles with milk. Our route lay through a country abounding with game, but in its other features too closely resembling much of what I had already passed through to require description. On our left, about ten o'clock, we had the junction of the Yellow and Cradock rivers (*Ky* and *Nu Gariep*): on our right the great desert which stretches five or six hundred miles westward, even to the mouth of the Gariep, a region occu-

A wanderer still uncheck'd doth range,
As humour calls, or seasons change;
His tent of mats and household gear
All packed upon the patient steer.
Midst all his wanderings, hating toil,
He never tills the stubborn soil;
But on the milky dams depends,
And what spontaneous Nature sends.
Or, should long-parching droughts prevail,
And milk, and bulbs, and locusts fail,*
He lays him down to sleep away
In languid sloth the weary day;
Oft as he feels gaunt hunger's stound,
Still tightening "famine's girdle" round;†
Lulled by the sound of the Gariep
Beneath the willows murmuring deep:
Till thunder-clouds, surcharged with rain,
Pour verdure o'er the desert plain,—
And call the famish'd dreamer from his trance,
To feast on milk and mead, and wake the moonlight dance.

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* Locusts and white ants are eaten both by the Koran and Bushman tribes, in seasons of scarcity.

† The "girdle of emptiness," as the Arabs call it, is frequently resorted to by all the nomadic tribes of South Africa who do not cultivate the earth, and whose means of subsistence are consequently precarious.

pied only by wandering Korannas, Bushmen, lions, and the wild game on which they feed.

As we rode along, I observed several gemsboks. This is a beautiful and noble-looking antelope. His long, straight, sharp horns incline a little backward, and it is said the animal can use them with formidable effect in self-defence. Instances are mentioned by the farmers, of the gemsbok and the lion being sometimes found lying dead together, the former having struck his horns into the heart of his destroyer as he sprang upon him and broke his back.

Unsaddled at noon, and refreshed ourselves with our bottles of milk and a little bread with which Mrs. Melvill had supplied me. Proceeded across a barren plain without water or a single bush or tree. At a great distance beyond were the banks of the Cradock river, towards which we pushed on with all speed, in order to reach water and fuel before night. We got there just at sunset, and having turned loose our horses to graze, Frederick and I exerted ourselves vigorously to collect enough of dry wood for our watchfires before the short twilight was over. We then tied up our weary steeds near our central fire, kindling five others around us, to keep off the prowlers of the desert. Having supplied ourselves with water from the river, which rolled its calm broad current in front of us, we made our supper of a little bread soaked in it, reserving as much as would afford us a meal next day, and bring us again to the haunts of white men. At a distance above we heard the roaring of a rapid or cataract, the sound of which floated down the stream,

"Like tumults heard from some far distant town,"

lulling us softly to repose. This was one of the pleasantest nights I ever passed in the wilds. The air was mild and dry, with scarcely a breath stir-

ring, and the stars were shining bright above in the clear deep sky, displaying all the constellations of the southern hemisphere.

About midnight, however, I was suddenly awakened by my clothes on fire. The fire had spread to the long grass among which we lay, and was burning all round and under me before I was awakened by the crackling of my handsome fur carosse. Except some little damage sustained by it, however, I suffered no injury from this accident,—which is indeed a very common one to travellers, if they are not careful to prevent their fires from spreading, by first burning off the dry grass to a little distance around them, and then extinguishing the flame with a green branch.*

27.—A little after three in the morning we ventured to turn out our poor horses to graze, having a long dreary journey before us to-day ere we could reach the first kraal of the Colonists; and just as the sun began to gild the neighbouring hills, we mounted our steeds and left our bivouac, to which we gave the name of Hippopotamus station, from the number of those animals of which we saw the traces on the river banks. We pursued our journey up the Cradock, not without apprehension of falling into some of the numerous pits made by the Bushmen and Korannas for entrapping the unwieldy hippopotamus. At a distance on the opposite bank we observed a few straggling Bushmen, and the curling smoke ascending from some Koranna encampment.

After a hard ride of about five hours, we reached Vanderwalt's-Drift, where I had first crossed the Cradock on my way north. Here we began to consider ourselves on beaten ground; and Frederick pointed out a distant mountain, near which, he said, the boor resided whom Captain Stockenstrom had directed

* Dr. Gill, a brother traveller, lately met with a more disastrous accident on the banks of the Gariep, from a similar cause. The tilt of his waggon caught fire; and as forty or fifty pounds of gunpowder were stored within it, no one durst attempt to extinguish the flames,—until the powder exploded, shattering the vehicle into a thousand pieces, and totally destroying the numerous botanical and anatomical collections which the unfortunate naturalist had spent so many weary months in selecting and arranging.

to provide me with horses. From this place we were distant, according to his calculation, about seven hours, or upwards of forty miles. We had therefore no time to lose; so, after letting our horses graze a little, and breakfasting on our last crust of bread, we saddled up about one o'clock, and pushed forward at a round rate.

For some time our course lay W. S. W. over extensive plains, gradually rising from the river. Beyond these, a range of naked mountains presented themselves, which, as we approached, separated into detached hills, admitting us into the midst of them without any perceptible ascent. About sunset, Frederick, who was a little ahead of me, suddenly stopped, and beckoned me to come up. When I had done so, he said with strong marks of alarm, "Prepare your gun; there stand two lions!" —pointing to two animals in front of us, which I instantly perceived to be not lions, but large hyænas, to which the glare of the setting sun gave a gigantic appearance. I therefore fired upon them without hesitation, and they went scampering off with the cowardice natural to their tribe.

Two hours after sunset, when our horses were almost knocked up, and our hopes of reaching the haunts of men that evening, nearly gone, we spied a light at a distance, and urged on our drooping steeds, till after another tedious hour we reached; to our great joy, an encampment of several boors, with their waggons, flocks, and herds, and our friend Westhuizen among them. They had come thus far with their cattle for the sake of pasturage, but intended returning the following day towards the Colony,—so that I was very fortunate in not being a day later.

After the usual compliments, and when I had taken a seat among them at the fire, and got them hushed to silence, I proceeded to explain the commotions which existed in the Bechuana country—the devastations of the Mantatees, or savage cannibals, and what I had myself witnessed at Lattakoo.

This news excited their curiosity and amazement to the highest pitch; especially the reports of the invaders being cannibals. Some of them said that they had heard tell in their youth of *Menschen-vreeders* (men-eaters,) but that till now they had believed such stories to be only old women's tales. They now began, however, to entertain some serious apprehensions of the marauding hordes crossing the Great River. I thought it was proper to put them on the alert, though not to alarm them with unnecessary terrors, and I therefore explained, as far as I could, the precise state of affairs among the Griquas and Bechuanas.

I found that Westhuizen had here a flock of 6,300 sheep, which he was obliged to guard from the lions and hyænas, by keeping up every night a circle of fires around the kraals; nor was this precaution always found sufficient. This boor told me that the day after he and his party had left me at the ford of the Cradock River, to return to the Landdrost, at Vanderwalt's, they were benighted and obliged to sleep in the waggon; and that before morning three of the horses were killed by lions. All the boors expressed their surprise at my returning safe, and without loss, through a country abounding so much with beasts of prey.

Having taken a hearty supper with these jolly shepherds, I retired into one of their waggons, and enjoyed a night of profound repose, free from the dread of being attacked by Bushmen or wild beasts, and thankful for my safe return into a more civilized community.

28.—This morning I was awakened by the bleating of sheep and lowing of cattle around me, and rejoiced to hear such homely sounds.

This country is excellent for grazing, and is resorted to by the colonists on that account. About forty miles westward, is situated a tract of country called Burder's Lake by the Missionaries. It is a valley about fifty miles in length, occupied by a chain of pools, which are in fact part of the channel

of the Brak River, a periodical stream, which only flows after copious rains, and even the pools are frequently dried up for a whole season.

My friend Westhuizen, havin gabundance of horses, kindly proposed to drive me himself a stage in his waggon. To this I willingly agreed, and having left here my lad Frederick to enable him to join the Landdrost on the surveying party at the Zeekoe River (parting not without regret on both sides, after the toils and dangers we had encountered together), I left Bok's-kraal, as the spot is called, and rattled away with Westhuizen in his eight-horse vehicle, through a wild, hilly country, abounding with game, but generally deficient in water. After a sharp ride we reached Jakhal's-Fonteyn, the first "request place" in a district called the Winterveld, which extends between this and the Nieuwveld mountains.

I had been furnished by Captain Stockenstrom with a written order directing all the inhabitants, whom I might call upon, to supply me with relays of horses and guides; but I found that the news I brought respecting the Mantatees, was generally sufficient to procure me every requisite aid without producing my order. On Westhuizen mentioning to the matron of Jakhal's-Fonteyn some of my intelligence respecting the invaders, she exclaimed, with every mark of terror, "Now God help us, our children, and our children's children! for I always dreaded some great mischief from the savages to the northward." On being told that the Mantatees were cannibals, she inquired if they "had eyes in their legs!" having been told in her youth, she said, that the cannibals were so provided. On this point, I replied, I could not furnish *ocular* evidence, having had no opportunity of inspecting them so narrowly; but I was certain, at least, that they could see very well, and run very fast.

Having satisfied Westhuizen for the trouble I had given him and the horses with which he had furnished me, I started from this place with two

horses and a guide, and soon reached another boor's of the name of Zwarts. On inquiring for horses, he said, " Ik heb geen paarden, Mynheer" (I have no horses, Sir); but when I told him that it was of little consequence to me to hasten my journey, but, perhaps, of very important consequence to the Colony, and particularly to the frontier boors; and proceeded to relate the news of the Mantatees, he instantly changed his tone—asked me to come into his tent and drink a cup of " tea-water" with his *vrouw* while he sent out for horses; and scarcely had I time to drink of the dismal " tea-water," when I was informed that the horses were already saddled. Up I started, therefore, and galloped on.

A little before dusk I reached the place of the Veld-Cornet Oberholzer, which lies close under a lofty table mountain, much resembling in appearance that at Cape Town. Having explained to this functionary the nature of the commotions now existing in the Bechuana country, and the possibility of their extending to the borders of the Colony, he urged me to write immediately a full account of what I had heard and seen to the Landdrost Stockenstrom, offering at the same time to forward my letter by express, while I myself proceeded direct to Cape Town by the way of Beaufort. Having acceded to this suggestion, I retired to rest at a late hour.

29.—The Veld-Cornet not only sent off my dispatches to Captain Stockenstrom, but furnished me with an additional order to all the inhabitants of his district, to afford me every aid in their power, and speed me on without delay. Leaving this hospitable and active man, I proceeded through a parched Karroo country, obtaining relays at several places without delay or difficulty; but from the necessity of going from one boor's house to another, for this purpose, my course was considerably lengthened in a zig-zag manner. I passed through prodigious flocks of springboks, spread over the plains as far as the eye could reach: the number it is impossible to estimate with any

nicety, but I suppose I saw at least 100,000 in the course of fifty miles. They were migrating from the great desert towards the Colony. In a thorny ravine we also startled a few koodoos; but the latter animal is usually found in greater numbers on the banks of the Gariep and its branches, than in the plains.* Stopped this night with a family of the name of Botha.

30.—Pursued my journey in a similar manner through a country of the same description, and reached, late at night, the encampment of a boor named Burgers, who, I found, was related to the master of Arend, the runaway slave whom I met in the Bechuana country. With this person I made arrangements for purchasing Arend's freedom from his owner.† The colonists, as I came along, inquired anxiously if I had seen many springboks, and were much concerned to hear that they were advancing upon them; for these beautiful creatures, when they spread over the inhabited country in such migrations, are more dreaded than even the devouring locusts; they eat up entirely both corn and pasture, and frequently oblige the farmers to fly with their flocks to other districts.‡

* An engraving of the koodoo and springbok will be found in a subsequent part of the work.

† This was ultimately effected through the friendly agency of Captain Stockenstrom; though not without considerable delay and difficulty; for the master finding an Englishman interested in obtaining the slave's freedom stood out stoutly, a long while, for 4000 rix-dollars (about double the slave's value, had he been in his hands), but at length he agreed to take 1500 rix-dollars; and poor Arend is now a freeman, having honourably repaid the purchase money by remitting ivory to Cape Town.

‡ The following account of the *Trek-bokken*, or migrating springboks, is from the pen of my friend Captain Stockenstrom, who has often personally witnessed the scenes he so vividly describes:—

"It is scarcely possible for a person passing over some of the extensive tracts of the interior, and admiring that elegant antelope the springbok, thinly scattered over the plains, and bounding in playful innocence, to figure to himself, that these ornaments of the desert can often become as destructive as the locusts themselves. The incredible numbers which sometimes pour in from the north, during protracted droughts, distress the farmer incon-

JULY 1.—This forenoon I ascended the first part of the Nieuwveld ridge of mountains, being the first abrupt rise I had met with since leaving the banks

ceivably. Any attempt at numerical computation would be vain; and by trying to come near the truth, the writer would subject himself in the eyes of those who have no knowledge of the country, to a suspicion that he was availing himself of a traveller's assumed privilege. Yet it is well known in the interior, that on the approach of the *Trek-bokken*, the grazier makes up his mind to look for pasturage for his flocks elsewhere, and considers himself entirely dispossessed of his lands until heavy rains fall. Every attempt to save the cultivated fields, if they be not enclosed by high and thick hedges, proves abortive. Heaps of dry manure (the fuel of the Sneeuwbergen and other parts) are placed close to each other round the fields, and set on fire in the evening, so as to cause a dense smoke, by which it is hoped the antelopes will be deterred from their inroads; but the dawn of day exposes the inefficacy of the precaution, by showing the lands, which appeared proud of their promising verdure the evening before, covered with thousands, and reaped level with the ground. Instances have been known of some of these prodigious droves passing through flocks of sheep, and numbers of the latter, carried along with the torrent, being lost to their owner, and becoming a prey to the wild beasts. As long as these droughts last, their inroads and depredations continue; and the havock committed upon them is of course great, as they constitute the food of all classes; but no sooner do the rains fall, than they disappear, and in a few days become as scarce on the northern borders as in the more protected districts of Bruintjes-Hoogte and Camdeboo.

"The African colonists themselves can form no conception of the cause of the extraordinary appearance of these animals; and, from their not being able to account for it, those who have not been eye-witnesses of these scenes, consider their accounts as exaggerated; but a little more minute inspection of the country south of the Orange River solves the difficulty at once. The immense desert tracts between that river and our Colony, westward of the Zeekoe River, destitute of permanent springs, and therefore uninhabitable by human beings for any length of time, are, notwithstanding, interspersed with stagnant pools, and "*vleys*," or natural reservoirs of brackish water, which, however bad, satisfies the game. In these extensive, boundless plains, the springboks multiply, undisturbed by the hunter, (except when occasionally a Bosjesman is by starvation driven to make the attempt,) until the country literally swarms with them; when, perhaps, one year out of four or five, a lasting drought leaves the pools exhausted, and parches up the soil, naturally inclined to sterility. Want then, principally of water, drives those myriads of animals either to the Orange River or to the Colony, when they intrude in the manner above described. But when the bountiful thunder-clouds pour their torrents upon our burnt-up country, reanimating vegetation, and restoring plenty to all graminivorous animals,—then, when we could, perhaps, afford to harbour those unwelcome visitors, their own instinct and our persecutions propel them again to their more sterile but more peaceful valleys and plains, to recruit the numbers lost during their migration, and to resume their attacks upon us when their wants shall again compel them.

"*Graaff-Reinet, Feb. 10th,* 1824."

of the Gariep. The Nieuwveld chain is continued eastward by the Sneeuwberg, and that by the Boschberg, the Cahaberg, the Winterberg, and the mountains of Cafferland, extending even to the vicinity of Delagoa Bay. In the mountains to-day I passed through another multitudinous division of the migrating springboks.

About four o'clock I reached the house of a man of the name of Clercq. This old gentleman was sitting smoking his pipe with all the dignity of a Turkish Paçha. Seeing nothing in my jaded appearance that demanded particular ceremony, he kept his seat, scarcely deigning to honour me with a condescending nod, and, on my asking him to supply me with horses and a guide for hire he grumbled out—"You may just as well attempt to hang me up as to procure horses from me."—"Very well," said I, "my good friend, it is all one to me. I see you have got a good house, and a hospitable-looking *vrouw;* so I 'll e'en take up my lodging with you, with all my heart, till you are in better humour." With that I presented him my order; on seeing which he instantly assumed a more civil tone, saying, "Come, come, we shall see what can be done for you, as you seem a good sort of fellow;" and on explaining the nature of my journey, he soon produced two horses and a guide.

Although I had come about fifty miles to-day, and had still above forty to ride before I could reach Beaufort, I resolved to make a hard push for it. Leaving, therefore, old Clercq, (whom, notwithstanding his gruff dignity, I found to be a friendly sort of man,) I descended through a defile from the mountains, and found myself at sunset on the verge of the Great Karroo. The word *Karroo,* in the Hottentot language, signifies an arid desert, and is specially applied to this great wilderness, extending between the Zwartbergen, or Black Mountains, on the one side, and the Nieuwveld and Sneeuwberg ridge on the other. This plain is about three hundred miles in length, and at a rough average, about eighty in breadth. With the exception of a few

straggling spots around its skirts, supplied with permanent springs from the adjoining mountains, the Karroo is only fit for human residence during a few weeks in the year,—after the fall of the periodical, or rather the occasional rains, for sometimes more than one season intervenes without them. Its principal inhabitants, are, therefore, the wild game, especially springboks, and the beasts of prey who accompany them; and who, as the water and pasturage fail in one quarter, migrate to another.

Along the margin of this waste we galloped at a good rate, on a level beaten path. About half-way on I found a boor outspanned, and resting in his tent. He was travelling, he told me, to Cape Town, with some curious animals which he had been commissioned to bring down for a gentleman, and for which he was to receive 1000 rix-dollars. His menagerie consisted, I found, of a couple of gnoos, as many blesboks, and one zebra. He pressed me to take a *soopie* with him, to which I willingly agreed, as the night was very chilly, but asked for water to mix with the brandy. "Ah!" said Mynheer, shrugging up his shoulders, "all you Englishmen murder good brandy by making grog of it: all your punch and your wine are but foul water, in my opinion, compared to the pure, unpolluted, high-flavoured brandy." So saying, he tossed off his *soopie*, and smacked his lips while I sipped my grog. This man expressed the general sentiments of the country boors on this point.

Reached Beaufort about midnight. The inhabitants of this little village were buried in sleep, but I called up Mr. Baird, the Deputy Landdrost, whom I knew, and was welcomed with much cordiality. I had rode to-day about ninety miles, and was glad to retire to a good bed, and a quiet room, once more.

When I set out on this journey, I could not have travelled half the distance daily, without being excessively fatigued. Now practice had trained me

to continue this rapid progress, and with frequently only one meal in the twenty-four hours, without feeling at all oppressed or weakened by it.

2.—Mr. Baird having proposed to provide a horse-waggon to carry me across the Great Karroo, by the way of the Ghamka River, I willingly accepted of this conveyance, and spent the forenoon in surveying the village, until the horses were brought from a farm in the neighbourhood.

Beaufort was created a sub-drostdy only a few years ago, and the village which has arisen in consequence of the establishment of the provincial magistracy, contains about thirty houses. It is situated near the base of the Nieuwveld mountains, on the verge of the Karroo. It is watered principally by a fountain, which forms one of the sources of the Ghamka River; but this is too slender a stream to afford sufficient water for any extent of cultivation; and so precarious are the rains in this quarter, that none had fallen here, as I was told, for three years. From this single fact, some idea may be formed of the disadvantages of this part of the Colony; nor has it been found practicable to place the Drostdy in a more eligible situation, without removing it at least 150 miles, to the very outskirts of the district.

CHAPTER XIV.

JOURNEY THROUGH THE GREAT KARROO.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CANGO CAVERNS.—ARRIVAL AT HEX RIVER.—DROSTDY OF WORCESTER.—FRANSCHEHOEK PASS.

JULY 2.—In the afternoon I left Beaufort in a waggon drawn by eight horses. I was accompanied by three boors, one of whom informed me, in the course of conversation, that he had lately been out upon a commando against the Bushmen, in which thirty of those unfortunate creatures were shot; namely, twenty-six men, two women, and two children! This is truly a shocking system; and it appears not a little extraordinary, that the enormities which Mr. Barrow so loudly reprobated thirty years ago, are still continued under the beneficent sway of England.

The Karroo was at this time dismally parched up;—not a blade of grass, nor any green thing was to be seen, except the mimosas which skirt the banks of the dried-up river. We stopped this evening at a boor's house, about three hours from the Drostdy.

3.—After a long and tiresome day's journey, we outspanned, in the evening, near a pool in the channel of the Ghamka, and kindled a large fire to keep off the lions which often infest this path.

4.—Reached Jakhal's-Fonteyn, the residence of Botha, one of my companions, a little after mid-day. This place lies near the foot of the

Zwartberg, on the Dwyka, or Rhinoceros River. Owing to the severe drought, 1100 sheep, and a considerable number of cattle belonging to my host, had perished within the last fourteen months. Many of the neighbouring farmers had suffered equally. Botha, though only about forty-four years of age, was, I found, the father of nineteen children, all by one wife, who was a jolly-looking matron of his own age, and likely enough in appearance to have half-a-dozen more.

The Zwartberg, or Black Mountain ridge, divides the Great Karroo by an almost impassable barrier from the Lange-Kloof, the valley of Oliphant's River, and other divisions of the George and Swellendam districts. The Ghamka, and other torrents, issuing from the skirts of the Nieuwveld and Sneeuwberg, after sweeping the level Karroo, cross this ridge by narrow chasms, and swell with their transitory deluges the Gauritz and Chamtoos Rivers. Except for these outlets, the Great Karroo basin would apparently form (at least in rainy seasons) the bottom of a prodigious lake or marsh.

Directly across the Zwartberg, and at no great distance from the spot where I now halted, lies the small secluded tract called the Cango, containing the remarkable caverns which I visited in 1822, as has been briefly mentioned in the preface. These caverns were discovered so long ago as 1780, by a boor, who was out hunting among the mountains, and have been frequently visited since; but as they have been described by no preceding writer, some account of them may, perhaps, not be unacceptable, and may be as conveniently inserted here, as in any other part of my narrative.

Having arrived the preceding evening at a farmer's of the name of Botha, in the district of George, who resides a few miles from the caverns, I made arrangements with him to accompany me thither. Accordingly Mynheer Botha, with three of his sons, and two of his neighbours, and with five slaves to assist, proceeded along with me to the grotto early in the morning. It is in the side of a rocky hill which forms part of the Black Mountains.

The mouth has the appearance of an irregular dark-looking gateway, of about twenty feet in height, and enters the rock about one hundred feet above the level of a brook which has its source in some desolate ravines to the eastward.

Advancing from the entrance about two hundred feet in a crooked but horizontal direction, we came to an abrupt precipice of about thirty-three feet, which we descended by the aid of a ladder brought for the purpose. On reaching the bottom, several lighted torches borne by the slaves displayed a most magnificent scene. We found ourselves in an apartment about six hundred feet in length, by one hundred broad, and varying in height from sixty to seventy feet. This hall was adorned with the most splendid stalactites, some in the shape of columns, rising to the height of forty feet, and one majestic one not less than sixty; others assuming the fantastic forms of cauliflowers, festoons, and a variety of grotesque figures. Many of these stalactites were quite transparent, and reflected the glare of the torches with a very brilliant and enchanting effect. This apartment was called Van-Zyl's-Hall, after the name of its first discoverer.

From Van-Zyl's-Hall, a long range of apartments open up, one beyond another, which the boors and other visitors have distinguished by such names as suited their fancy. The first of these is called the Registry, from the circumstance of the wall being inscribed with the names of many visitors. It is about forty feet in diameter, and in height apparently about thirty feet. This served as the vestibule for a noble apartment, about one hundred and forty feet in length and breadth, and fifty feet in height, ornamented also, though not so splendidly as the first, by many gorgeous stalactites. A sort of gallery leads out of this, about fifteen feet in breadth, and twenty in height at the entrance, but narrowing as it penetrates inward, till, at the distance of about sixty feet, it is terminated by another abrupt descent.

No one had hitherto explored the cavern beyond this spot, and as the

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ladder at the entrance could not conveniently be brought forward, I contrived to scramble down the precipice which was only about fourteen feet in depth. Three of the slaves followed me, but so confusedly that all their torches were extinguished in coming down. Mine, fortunately, was not, and re-lighting theirs, I proceeded to explore the recesses of this farthest grotto. Finding the atmosphere here very oppressive, and being somewhat apprehensive of foul air, I directed the slaves to keep at a good distance behind me, in order that their lights might remain in reserve in the event of mine being extinguished. Proceeding in this manner I fully examined this chamber, and found it to be about five hundred feet in length, by fifty broad, and varying in height from twenty to forty feet. At the extremity I was stopped by a wall or rock, in the middle of which, about fifteen feet high, their appeared another opening. Fancying that this might be a continuation of the cavern, I contrived to clamber up, in the manner of a chimney-sweep, between two columns of spar, and examined this excavation also; but I found it to be merely a narrow chasm, remarkable neither in its extent nor decorations. Beyond this I discovered no opening, and considered it therefore as the *ne plus ultra* of the caverns. At this spot I calculated that I was about 1500 feet from the entrance.

Retracing my steps, and again ascending the precipice (not without some difficulty) I returned to my companions, who were waiting with some anxiety for our safety at the last descent. I was congratulated on my success; and Mynheer Botha, the guardian of this Pandemonian palace, did me the honour to confer my name on the chamber I had now explored.

I then examined the whole of this immense cavern in detail, and was shown a variety of smaller chambers, or recesses, opening out of the great gallery, or range of state apartments. One of the smaller grottoes is called the *Yskegel Kamer*, from its being hung round with stalactites resembling icicles. Another very beautiful one is called the Bath, on account of its containing several

curious natural cisterns, formed by petrifactions, and resembling marble basins hollowed by art in the living rock. These basins were full of fresh water, delightfully cool and limpid.

The schistoze, or whinstone rock, which forms the walls and roof of this cavern, is hard and compact, but penetrated in many places by fissures, through which the water oozing after heavy rains, and strongly impregnated with calcareous matter, from the seperincumbent strata through which it is filtered, forms, as it trickles drop by drop, the infinitude of grotesque and singular figures with which these grottoes abound; assuming, some the shapes of regular columns, others of cauliflowers, cascades, pulpits, animals, drapery, &c. &c. The drawings which I have given will convey a clearer idea of some of these to the reader than any attempt at more minute description.

In some parts of the caves the roof and walls were covered with myriads of bats, many of which, awakened by the unwonted light and clamour, began to fly about, and it was with difficulty we could prevent them from extinguishing our lights. The floor was in many places covered several feet deep with their excrement, dry as chaff; but it is remarkable that the Bath-room, probably from being moister than other parts of the cavern, was entirely free from this nuisance, and the water as pure and limpid as crystal.

Having once more surveyed Van-Zyl's-Hall, I ascended the ladder, requesting the rest of the party to fall back a little into the cavern, while I took a hasty sketch of them from the top of the precipice. The effect was strikingly picturesque. The glare of the torches held by the black slaves, showing dimly the bandit-looking forms of the boors, grim and fierce as Dirk Hatteraick himself,—and the strange, grotesque, unearthly shapes of the stalactites, half hidden, half revealed, formed altogether one of the most extraordinary scenes I ever witnessed, and vividly recalled to my imagination some of the descriptions of caverns in the works of the ancient poets, probably suggested by actual scenery of the same character as that which I now contemplated.

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On returning to upper day, I found that I had been nearly seven hours in surveying the caverns, and in sketching (with the aid of an old German draughtsman, who resided in the vicinity,) the drawings that accompany this volume, and several others which have not been engraved.

I now revert to my homeward route, along the southern skirts of the Great Karroo.

July 4.—After some refreshment, and a short nap at Jakhal's-Fonteyn, I proceeded, as formerly, with horses and a guide; crossed the Dwyka and Bloed Rivers, and reached about midnight Hartebeest-Fonteyn. Though obliged to knock up the family at this untimely hour, I met with a most civil and hospitable reception, and supper and a shake-down were immediately provided for me.

5.—Proceeded with the same horses, not being able to procure a relay at this place. The country still miserably parched and barren. I had scarcely seen a single wild animal since leaving the Nieuwveld mountains. The skeletons of cattle which had perished in crossing the barren desert, were numerous along our route.

After a delay of some hours, procured a farther relay of horses at the Veld-Cornet Olivier's, near the Buffalo River; which, like all the other rivers I had lately crossed, was only a dry channel, with here and there some scanty pools of brackish water. Slept this night at a place called Riet-Fonteyn.

6.—The country now began to look less desolate, some rain having fallen here recently; and as we approached the Bokkeveld mountains, birds and animals were again met with.

After crossing the lofty ridge which environs the Hex River, I reached that romantic valley about sunset, and viewed with a degree of pleasure not easily described, the country rich with vegetation, studded with farms, and sparkling with rivulets, after travelling all the way from the Gariep, a distance

of nearly 700 miles, without seeing a running stream or a green pasture.

Changing horses at the Veld-Cornet de Vos's, who has a handsome substantial house, with flourishing gardens and orchards, I pushed on to Ralph Vandermerwe's, where I stopped for the night, after a hard day's ride of nearly 100 miles, having been exactly twenty hours on horseback.

7.—Emerging from this romantic valley, I reached the Drostdy of Worcester at an early hour, and breakfasted with Captain Trappes, the Landdrost. This village is of very recent establishment, and contains as yet only about ten houses. It has been made the seat of magistracy in place of Tulbagh, and the name of Worcester given to the district instead of the former Dutch appellation. Being the capital of a rich and populous district, it will doubtless rapidly increase in size, although the village of Tulbagh remains as its rival in some respects; and its local situation is not a little awkward in the rainy season, when the overflowing of the Breede and Hex Rivers renders it sometimes inaccessible from all sides but the Bokkeveld, for weeks together. A very spacious and magnificent Drostdy-house is now erecting here.

Leaving Worcester at eleven o'clock, I crossed the Breede River, passed the Brand-Vallei hot-springs, (described by Barrow, Lichtenstein, and Burchell,) and changing horses at De Toit's, reached the commencement of the Franschehoek Pass at sunset. Two hundred English soldiers, under an engineer officer, had been employed for about two years in making a waggon-road through this steep and rugged defile; but more than half the work was still to be accomplished.* I got through, however, after a long and perilous scramble among bogs and precipices, and reached the house of my worthy friend the Veld-Cornet Hugo, in Franschehoek, about nine o'clock.

* This path has been since completed, and forms one of the most magnificent public works in the colony. It is said to have cost about 7,000*l.* exclusive of the labour of the soldiery.

8.—Passing rapidly through the pleasant and well-known valleys of Franschehoek, Drakenstein, and the pass of Banghoek, I reached Stellenbosch to breakfast; and being supplied by the Landdrost, Mr. Ryneveld, with fresh horses, and a *dienaar* (police man) to accompany me, I arrived, in a few hours, at Rondebosch, the country residence of Colonel Bird, the colonial secretary, to whom I gave a hasty sketch of the state of affairs on the northern frontier, and what I had seen and heard of the Mantatee invaders. As this was the first intimation that had reached Cape Town of the approach of these marauders, the news I brought excited some surprise; but the whole information resting solely upon my own authority, there were individuals who, at that time, were disposed to doubt the truth of the statement. However, Government appeared to appreciate duly the speedy assiduity with which I had travelled down with the intelligence, by forwarding ammunition to the frontier for the protection of the Colony.

In the evening I arrived in Cape Town, not a little pleased to reach my own quiet home after such a long and arduous excursion. On reviewing my route, I found I had been absent just eighty days, fifty of which had been occupied in actual travelling, and the remaining thirty spent at different places on my route. In this time I had traversed a space of about 3100 English miles; having travelled 2500 miles on horseback, and 600 in waggons. During the last fourteen days, (not including the one I spent at Beaufort,) I had travelled above 1100 miles, averaging nearly 80 miles per day.

CHAPTER XV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRIQUA COMMANDO.—DEFEAT OF THE MANTATEES.—BARBAROUS CONDUCT OF THE BECHUANAS.—PRISONERS.—LANGUAGE, DRESS, AND WEAPONS OF THE INVADERS.

HAVING brought the journal of my excursion to the Bechuana country to a close, I now revert to the transactions that occurred there immediately after my departure; the particulars of which are both interesting in themselves, and requisite to be detailed here, in order to elucidate my subsequent remarks, and afford a more complete view of the character and condition of the native inhabitants of that quarter of Southern Africa. I am fortunately enabled to render these details perfectly authentic, from the written narratives of Messrs. Melvill and Moffat, which are now before me.

On Mr. Melvill's arrival at Kuruman, a meeting was held with the Missionaries and chiefs of the Griquas, and it was settled that Waterboer should act as chief captain on the expedition against the Mantatees, while Messrs. Melvill and Moffat accompanied them with the view of opening, if possible, a friendly intercourse with the savages, and of using their influence to prevent the unnecessary effusion of human blood. Mateebè and his chiefs were invited to join the commando with their warriors; but with an intimation, that in the event of a battle being inevitable, the Bechuanas

must strictly refrain from the slaughter of women and children (as is their usual barbarous practice), and that all of the enemy who laid down their arms should receive quarter as prisoners of war. To these conditions Mateebè assented with apparent cordiality, and promised to issue orders that they should be carefully observed by his followers. How far this pledge was faithfully adhered to will be afterwards seen.

Before the expedition left Kuruman, each of the Griquas was furnished with fifteen rounds of powder and ball, which (with the exception of a small quantity of gunpowder reserved) was all the ammunition that could be mustered.

It was Tuesday, the 24th of June, when they set off. At the Maquareen River Mateebè joined the commando with 500 warriors, and as many more were ordered to join from the towns to the westward under his control. As no dependance could be placed on the reports of the Bechuanas, a party of ten Griquas, commanded by Waterboer, and accompanied by Mr. Moffat, were sent forward to reconnoitre the enemy. Mr. Moffat gives the following account of the proceedings of this little party.

"We rode forward four hours, and then halted among some trees till morning. At daybreak we again proceeded with all speed. About ten o'clock we came in sight of the enemy, who were lying on a declivity, a short distance south from the town of Lattakoo. A second and more numerous division occupied the town itself. Waterboer and I rode up to a young woman whom we saw in one of the ravines. I put a few questions to her in the Bechuana language, to which she replied, that the invaders had come from a distant country; but we could gain from her no farther information of any interest. We then advanced within two musket shots of the spot where they were lying. We found here, reclined under the shadow of a small rock, an old man and his son; the latter without the least signs of animation, and the father scarcely able to tell us that they

were dying of hunger. He begged for meat, and a piece was given, but we could elicit no intelligence from him.

"We stood here for nearly half an hour with the horses' bridles in our hands, to convince the enemy that we were neither afraid of them, nor disposed to do them injury. At the same time we dispatched one of our number to inform the commando, who were about twenty miles behind, of the posture of affairs. While we were yet standing we observed that all the cattle were hastily collected and inclosed in the midst of the multitude. A few armed men then rushed out of the main body towards us; but seeing us quietly awaiting their advance, as speedily retreated. We then re-mounted our horses, and slowly approached the congregated mass within about one hundred yards. It had been agreed that I and another of our number should advance towards the enemy unarmed, and invite two or three of them to come forward and speak with us, while the rest of our party stood upon their guard. This plan, however, was entirely defeated. We had just halted within the above-mentioned distance, when the savages broke out with a most hideous and appalling yell; and I had scarcely time to say, "Be upon your guard—they are preparing to attack," when several hundreds of armed men rushed forward upon us in a most furious manner, throwing their weapons with such force and velocity, that we had scarcely time to turn our horses and gallop clear of them. One of our men narrowly escaped being knocked from his horse by one of their war clubs. Having retreated a few hundred paces, we stopped to deliberate, and seeing no possible means of bringing them to a parley, retired to a height at some distance, but within view of the enemy. Here we unsaddled our horses, and having shot two wild turkeys, buried them in the hot ashes to roast for our dinner, hoping that our peaceful demeanour might excite familiarity in our opponents, and lead them to come to an interview: but not one of them approached us during the whole day.

"At sunset I left the advanced-guard under the command of Waterboer,

and rode back to confer with Mr. Melvill, as to our farther proceedings; and to devise, if possible, some scheme to bring the enemy to terms of peace, and prevent the dreadful consequences of a battle."

At break of day the commando proceeded forward, and a little after sunrise joined the party in advance, who had remained during the night behind a hill, about a mile from the savages. The attempt made the preceding day to come to an amicable understanding with them having altogether failed, but little expectation was indulged of succeeding in this benevolent purpose: it was, therefore, now judged expedient to make a decided impression upon them, and by showing them the terrible effects of fire-arms, to check their advance by fear, since it could not be done by friendship.

"It was about eight o'clock," says Mr. Melvill, "when the Griquas galloped up towards them. They were encamped in an open plain, and continued sitting, without appearing the least alarmed at our approach. A few only were seen packing their oxen, and a large herd of cattle was inclosed in their centre, surrounded by men, women, and children. The whole of this division was estimated to be about 15,000 souls. We drew up in front of them, at the distance of about 150 yards: when suddenly, before half the Griquas had come up, they raised their frightful, savage yell, or war-whoop, and threw out their two wings, as if they intended to surround us, hundreds of their warriors rushing forwards, and furiously discharging their clubs and javelins. So very sudden and impetuous was this assault, that we had scarcely time to turn our horses' heads, and gallop out of the reach of their missiles. Their appearance was truly formidable. The warriors were very tall, athletic men, quite black, with no other clothing than a sort of apron round their loins. They wore plumes of ostrich feathers on their heads, and their weapons consisted of spears, or javelins, battle-axes, and clubs. They had large oval shields, which, when rushing forward, they held close to the ground on the left side,

"Finding that we had to do with a fierce and audacious enemy, the Griquas reserved their fire in order to shoot deliberately, and not unnecessarily expend the small quantity of ammunition we possessed. As soon as we were out of reach of the enemy, therefore, the Griquas faced about, and Waterboer and some others dismounting, fired upon the foremost of the warriors, and levelled them with the ground. Somewhat daunted by this, their wings retreated upon the main body, crouching behind their shields whenever a shot was fired.

"In the meanwhile the Bechuana warriors came running down from the heights to join the combat; but little advantage was gained from their aid, for only a small number had courage to venture near enough to reach the enemy with their arrows, and all of them fled with the utmost precipitation, whenever a score or two of the more warlike Mantatees rushed forth against them.

"The Griquas were again approaching nearer, when the enemy a second time suddenly poured forth their armed bands upon us, more numerous and fierce than at first. Our men had dismounted to take a better aim, for the shots fired from horseback produced little effect, and we had no ammunition to spare; but this mode of fighting was not without great danger, for the onset of the enemy was so fierce and sudden, and they ran with so much swiftness, endeavouring each time to surround our small party, that very brief space was allowed to jump into the saddles, and gallop out of their reach."

In this manner, alternately advancing and retreating, and pausing occasionally to give them an opportunity of coming to terms, if so disposed, the conflict continued for about two hours and a half. For some time the enemy evinced a very bold and resolute spirit, continually rushing out upon the horsemen, and treading over the bodies of their fallen countrymen with a furious and desperate courage. But when they found that all their efforts

to surround or overtake the Griquas, were in vain, and that their bravest warriors were falling thick on the field, mown down by invisible weapons, against which their shields formed no defence, their audacity began to abate, though still they showed no intention of retreating. The Griquas had endeavoured to draw their warriors as far as possible into the plain, and then by galloping between them and the main body, to cut them off, and so decide the conflict; but they speedily became aware of this design, and kept more closely in upon the circle of women and children which surrounded their cattle, appearing obstinately determined to stand by them.

The Griquas now approached more closely, and a number dismounting occupied a rising ground, from whence they could distinguish and select the warriors now driven in upon the multitude. Every shot was deadly, and the greatest confusion and dismay began to be manifest among the Mantatees. At length all the cattle burst out from the crowd which encircled them, and were taken possession of by the Griquas. The whole multitude then began to move slowly off in a compact body, quickening their pace as they retreated. After they had fled about half a mile in the direction of Lattakoo, where the other division of their army lay encamped, the Griquas turned their left flank with the view of driving them to the eastward, and preventing a junction of their forces. Thus driven in an opposite direction, they ascended a rising ground, when suddenly wheeling about, they rushed down upon their pursuers with as great fury as at the beginning. The Griquas being close upon them, it was with the utmost difficulty that many of them escaped falling into their hands. They then prosecuted their course as at first; and in spite of the destructive fire of their pursuers, who still endeavoured to turn them, effected a junction with their countrymen. Just as they entered the town, being reinforced by several thousand fresh warriors, they once more sallied out to battle; and it was not till they found their utmost efforts to close with their assailants fruitless, and till their two

principal chiefs and bravest leaders had fallen, that they were with great slaughter driven back.

The whole united horde now began to move slowly out of the town, setting it on fire as they departed. The flames and smoke bursting from the thatched houses, and the clouds of dust raised by the movement of such a multitude, and rolling over their swarthy host, which was closely followed by the Griqua horsemen, gave a wild and striking effect to the scene, not easily to be described. As soon as the Mantatees got out from among the houses, they again made an attempt to surround their pursuers, while encumbered by the huts, and half blinded by the smoke and dust. A band of their warriors had crept round among the bushes unperceived, and were coming in behind, when they were discovered, and a party of the Griquas were sent to encounter them, who drove them back to the main body. They continued to retreat slowly to the north-east with more order than could have been expected. The armed men remained in the rear and on each wing, and occasionally turned upon the Griquas, who followed them for about eight miles beyond Lattakoo. The pursuit was then given up at about half-past three o'clock, and as soon as the Griquas had left them they all sat down on the plain.

"When the two divisions of the Mantatees were united," says Mr. Melvill, "they appeared extremely numerous. They extended in a dense crowded mass, about 500 yards broad, by 100 yards deep. If the number be computed by the space they occupied, allowing only a square yard for each individual, they will amount to 50,000 persons."

In the meanwhile the Bechuanas, who were hanging upon the neighbouring heights watching the issue of the conflict, (for only a very few had ventured to come within bow-shot of the enemy,) as soon as they perceived that the Mantatees had fairly taken to flight, came down upon the field of battle, like ferocious wolves, to plunder the dead and dying, and to glut

their vengeance, by murdering the wounded and the helpless women and children."

When the enemy retreated, many of the females were left behind, who, perceiving that mercy was shown to them by the Griquas, generally sat down, and baring their bosoms, called out in their own language (which is a dialect of the Bechuana), "I am a woman! I am a woman!" to all who approached. But this touching appeal had no effect on the hearts of the relentless savages who now rushed upon them. The shocking scene which presented itself to Messrs. Moffat and Melvill as they returned, after the retreat had commenced, is thus described.

"As fighting," says Mr. Moffat, "is not my province, I avoided discharging a single shot; but when I saw the enemy had fairly taken to flight, I turned back to look after the prisoners. What was my horror and indignation when I saw the base and bloody Bechuanas, notwithstanding the promise of their chiefs to restrain them, butchering, in cold blood, the helpless women and children, and hewing with their battle-axes the heads from the bodies for the sake of some paltry ornament! By galloping in among them, and threatening these cowardly murderers, I succeeded in driving many of them from their prey. But it was horrible to view the carnage which had already taken place, and which I found still proceeding, as I rode up and down among the miserable groupes scattered over the field. In one place, women and children were flying from their pursuers; in another, mothers and infants were lying together rolled in blood; or living infants were raising their feeble wail from the arms of their slaughtered mothers."

"They were seen," says Mr. Melvill, "in all directions at this murderous work: and it was only by striking them and threatening to shoot them that they could be compelled to desist. The women were seen in little groupes surrounded by Bechuanas, who were tearing away beads and brass rings from their necks and arms. A woman was holding out her arms to

one of those ruffians, in order that the bracelets might be taken off, but not being able to effect his purpose quick enough, the savage cut off both her arms with his battle-axe, and then dispatched her.

"The bold and unconquerable spirit of the Mantatee warriors, formed a striking contrast to the pusillanimity of the Bechuanas. Many who had been wounded by the fire of the Griquas were left, by the retreat of their countrymen, scattered over the field. These had been fallen upon by the Bechuanas and slaughtered without mercy, but we found some of them still defending themselves with a desperate courage worthy of a better fate. I saw one man with ten javelins and as many arrows sticking in his body, who kept about forty of his foes at a distance; another, severely wounded, fought desperately with one knee on the ground, keeping at bay a band of assailants, and plucked a spear out of his body to throw at them. They seemed to have no idea of yielding, or asking for quarter—probably, because in their own wars they are not accustomed either to give or receive mercy."

"The wounded and dying," says Mr. Moffat, "did not manifest those signs of sensibility which their situation was calculated to draw forth. The cries of infants who had fallen from the arms of their flying or slaughtered mothers, were distinctly heard; but the others seemed but little affected by their woful situation. A ferocious thirst for vengeance seemed to reign paramount in the breasts of the dying warriors. Several times I narrowly escaped the spears and battle-axes of the wounded, while engaged in rescuing the women and children. Men, struggling with death, would raise themselves from the ground, and throw their weapons with the utmost fury at any one of us who approached them. Their vengeful spirit seemed to be subdued only when life was extinct. Instead of laying down their arms, and suing for quarter, some actually fought on their knees, their legs being broken!"

"It is not in my power," says Mr. Melvill, "to convey any adequate idea of my feelings as I passed over the field after the battle was over. Dead

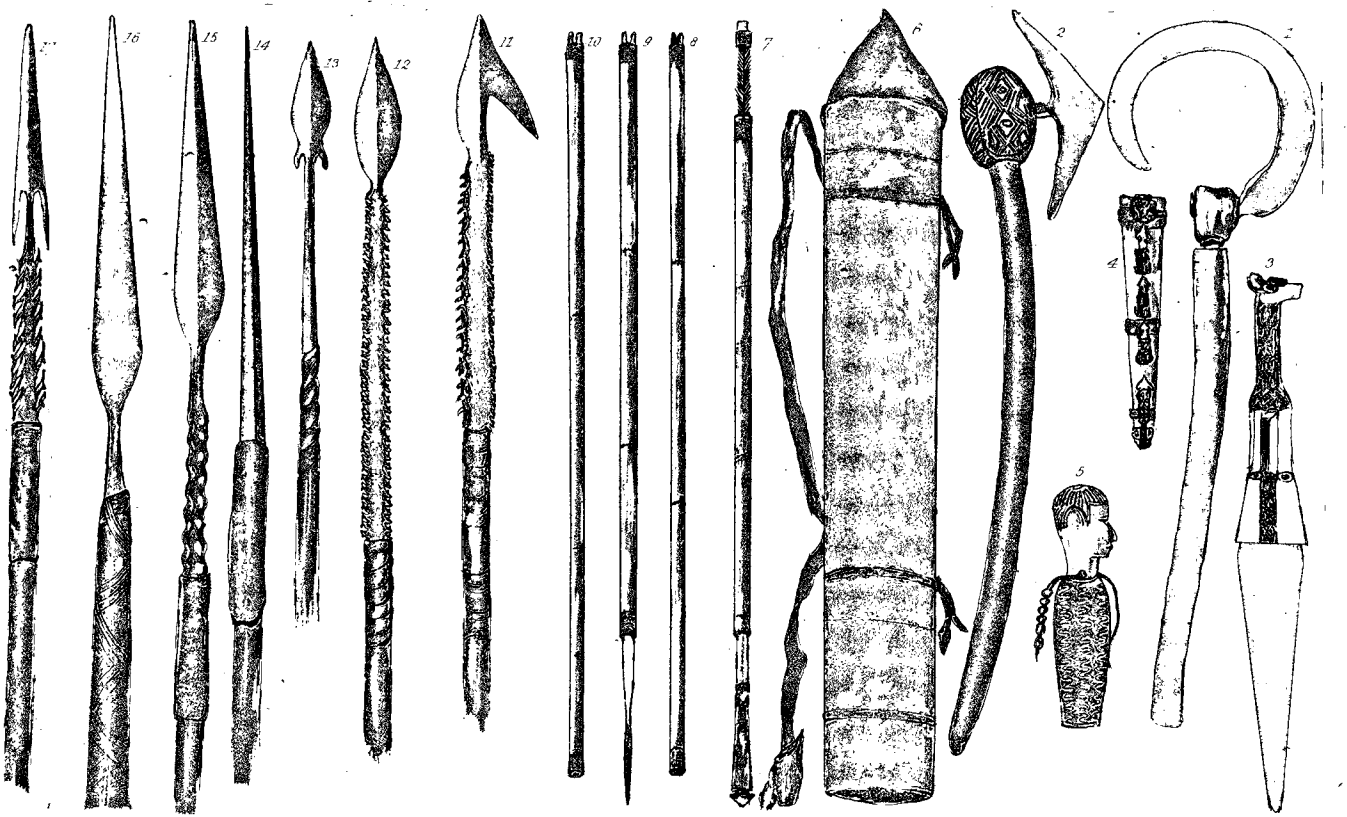
bodies lying scattered about; women wounded, and left to languish in agony; and little children crying for their mothers; these were objects enough to melt any heart: but, alas! man in a savage state is altogether selfish and unfeeling, and inhuman almost as the beasts of prey. One little orphan boy I picked up and carried before me on my horse, and another infant I put on the back of a woman to bring on with me,—but not being her own, it was only by using threatening language that she was prevailed on to carry it. Although we assured the women of safety and protection, it was with the utmost difficulty they could be compelled to go on with us. At one time, Mr. Moffat and I had collected about a hundred of them, and were bringing them along to place them out of reach of the Bechuanas, but as soon as we reached the place where their countrymen had been encamped, and where a quantity of victuals was lying scattered about, they all stopped, and began to tear and eat most voraciously, and very few could be forced on any farther. On reaching the spot where the battle first began, we found about a hundred women and children sitting round small fires, cooking victuals in the midst of dead bodies, and no means in our power could force them away. The apathy of these people was striking. The savage is naturally unfeeling, but a long course of misery and famine appeared to have deprived these wretched females of even the remnant of humanity which usually clings to their sex in the most degraded state of existence. That they were actually *cannibals*, though not from choice, but dire necessity, was afterwards fully ascertained."

"Many of the Mantatees," says Mr. Moffat, "especially the women and the infirm, appeared to be suffering dreadfully from famine. Most of the prisoners were much exhausted, and exceedingly ravenous for food; and the dead warriors looked lean and gaunt, though in battle they had displayed amazing agility and swiftness. About 500 bodies of the enemy lay scattered over the field of battle,—so destructive had been the Griqua muskets;

while on our side not one man was killed, and only one slightly wounded. One Bechuana lost his life, being slain (a fate richly merited) by one of the wounded whom he was plundering.

"This barbarous horde appeared, when all collected in one body, extremely numerous, amounting at the very lowest computation to about forty thousand souls. The men were tall and muscular, and their bodies being smeared over with a mixture of charcoal and grease, they appeared as black as pitch. Their natural colour is scarcely a shade darker than that of the Bechuanas, whom in features they also nearly resemble. Their language appears to be merely a dialect of the Bechuana tongue, resembling that of the Matclhapees so nearly, that I understood the prisoners almost as readily as the inhabitants of Kuruman. Their dress consisted in general of prepared or tanned skins, hanging loose over their shoulders. Some of the chiefs had carosses of a superior description, and not a few wore long loose shawls of cotton cloth:* but most of the women were almost destitute of clothing, having, for the greater part, only a small piece of skin suspended from their loins, to cover their nakedness. The men, during the engagement, having thrown off their mantles, were entirely naked, excepting that a small piece of skin was tied about their loins. Their ornaments were plumes of black ostrich feathers on their heads, large copper rings, sometimes six or eight in number, round their necks, with numerous rings of the same metal on their arms and legs, and rings or large plates hanging from their ears. Their weapons were spears or assagais, battle-axes, and clubs; and many of them had a weapon of a very peculiar construction, being an iron blade, of a circular shape, with a cutting sabre edge, fastened on a stick with a heavy knobbed

* This cloth, of which I have procured a specimen, is apparently of Surat manufacture, and must have been procured either through some of the Portuguese settlements on the East coast, or from the Moors of Inhamban.



P. Thompson Esq.r del.t

WARLIKE WEAPONS.

head, and used both as a missile and in close combat. They had also large shields of bullock's hide, which, like those of the Caffers, covered almost the whole body.*

"We learned from the prisoners, that the Mantatees had intended to begin their march towards Kuruman the very day we encountered them. They had driven out the inhabitants of Nokuning, and ransacked and burnt that town, and were about to finish with Lattakoo in the same manner, when "the thunder and lightning" of the Griquas (as they termed the musketry) drove them back."

* The annexed plate, with the following explanation, will afford a general notion of the weapons used by the Bechuanas, Mantatees, Zoolas, and other Caffer tribes.

No. 1. Mantatee weapon, described in the text. The handle is two feet long, and the curved blade is sharpened on the outer edge.

2. Bechuana battle-axe. This is a very effective weapon. The handle is twenty-six inches in length, and formed of the elastic horn of the rhinoceros. The drawing is taken from one sent to the author by Mateebè, with which he had hewed off the heads of three Mantatees on the field of Lattakoo.

3. Bechuana knife, with carved ivory handle.

4. Sheath of ditto.

5. Ivory whistle, used in war, at public meetings, &c.

6. Bechuana or Bushman quiver, formed of bark or leather, thirty inches in length.

7. Bushman's poisoned arrow. The shaft is of reed, and twenty-six inches in length.

8. Shaft of ditto, without the point.

9. Bechuana arrow—similar to the Bushman's, except in the shape of its head.

10. Shaft of ditto.

11, 12, 13. Zoola assagais. The shaft is about six feet in length. Every warrior carries six or seven.

14. Mantatee assagai.

15. Amakosa ditto.

16. Hambona ditto.

17. Bechuana ditto.

CHAPTER XVI.

MR. MELVILL'S NARRATIVE OF TRANSACTIONS AFTER THE BATTLE, AND OF HIS EXCURSION TO RESCUE THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THE INVADERS.

WHEN I came off the field of battle, (says Mr. Melvill,) I met the Griquas, who had just returned from the pursuit, and had unsaddled their horses, at a spot about a quarter of a mile from the place where the Mantatees were first encountered. Mr. Moffat and I used every means in our power to induce them to take care of the women that were left behind; for we learned that the Bechuanas, who were assembled at a place about three hundred yards from us, had carried off, as prisoners, a number of women, being chiefly those whom we ourselves, with one or two Griquas, had, with

much trouble, and by main force, brought along from a great distance, but who had lingered behind and again fallen into the power of their foes. The Griqua chiefs, therefore, sent a messenger to tell Mateebè that, as the women had been saved by us when his people were murdering them, they must be delivered up. This measure was necessary, because the Bechuanas only wanted them to carry home the plunder they had collected, and afterwards, not having any farther use for them, it was probable they would be killed, or left to die of hunger. As soon as this message was delivered to Mateebè, however, he started up in a rage, and with a large stone knocked down one woman; and one of his attendants immediately stabbed to the heart a male prisoner whom he had taken.—These deeds expressed but too distinctly the spirit by which they were actuated.

The messenger hastened back to inform me of this brutal conduct; and fearing that the women, whose lives had been saved with so much difficulty, might, after all, be massacred by these savages, who seemed to be capable of any enormity, I hastened to them as quickly as possible, accompanied by the chief, Adam Kok, who was an intimate friend of the Matclhapee Chief, and could speak the language fluently. By the time I reached Mateebè's station, several of the Griquas, who had followed me, came up with their guns, and so frightened the Matclhapees, that they instantly agreed the women should be given up. With some difficulty they were then, to the number of eighty-seven souls, collected and carried along with us.

It was now nearly dark, and the place where we intended to halt for the night was distant about three or four hours walk. The women having no desire to go with us, (fearing, perhaps, that we, like the Bechuanas, might murder them,) and many being extremely fatigued by the exertions of the day, it was with no small difficulty that we could force them onward. Some were wounded, and others extremely emaciated and weak; and they tried

every means of escaping from us by running among the thick bushes, and lying down.

To see the state of these people, and to be obliged to force them along, produced feelings that I cannot describe. In order to save their lives it was absolutely necessary to bring them onward to a place where they could be protected, have a fire to warm themselves during the night, and food to eat. A few Griquas were appointed to help Mr. Moffat and myself in this arduous task.* Although on horseback, we could only go on at a very slow pace. We soon found that some of the little boys were so tired that they could walk no farther. Mr. Moffat took up one and I another, behind us, and afterwards another, each before the saddle on the necks of the horses, and a few of the Griquas followed our example. The one I had before me was severely wounded in the head, but not a groan was heard from him. When we had got within half an hour of the place of rendezvous, the women and children were completely worn out, so that we were under the necessity of leaving them for the night, having first kindled a fire for them. We then rode forward to the place were the Griquas were encamped.

The next morning a party of men were sent to bring them along, and most of them were then distributed among the Griquas to become their servants, which was considered to be the best way of getting them taken care of, and provided with food. With the apprehension, however, that the pro-

* From Mr. Moffat's account it appears that the Griquas, though in many respects far superior to the Bechuanas, and not guilty of wanton cruelty, nevertheless evinced on this occasion a deplorable want of the better feelings of humanity, of which, in civilized life, the most depraved alone are altogether devoid. "Many of the prisoners," says Mr. Moffat, "were extremely weak, and the Griquas in general manifested great indifference about collecting them. They seemed also in general destitute of sympathy for the wounded, and disinclined to render them assistance. The cattle which had been captured, to the number of a thousand or upwards, was the chief object of their solicitude. The charge of collecting and bringing on the women and children was left entirely to Mr. Melvill and myself, with only two or three persons to assist us."

viding of victuals for these poor creatures might, after all, fall exclusively upon me, I applied for a share of the captured cattle, for myself and the Missionaries, on account of our having furnished the commando with ammunition. By this means I secured a supply of provisions for them, in any emergency, or for any other prisoners who might hereafter be taken. I had allotted to me thirty-three head of cattle, not choosing to receive any more than a regular share, according to the custom of the country, in order to prevent the Griquas from murmuring; at the same time, I expressly stated to the chiefs, that I designed the cattle for the subsistence of the Mantatee prisoners.

Late in the afternoon of the 26th all the Griquas departed, each having received his share of the cattle. I remained a little behind them, and on going to the spring found a woman lying near the water, apparently in a dying state. My waggon had only proceeded a couple of hundred yards farther, when we saw a woman, and a girl about twelve years of age, creeping away to hide themselves among the bushes. The woman's feet were so much swelled that she could scarcely walk. With some trouble we compelled them to go to the waggon. In this manner I soon collected about a dozen women and children, part of whom rode in the waggon. Before I arrived at Kuruman, which was on the third day after the battle, the number had increased to twenty-five,—many of them being such as had left the Griquas by the road.

During my journey to Kuruman, the idea of having left several hundreds of women to be murdered by the Bechuanas, or to perish by the wild beasts, or for want of food, very much distressed my mind. At night I could scarcely sleep for thinking on the subject. I could not feel satisfied that I had sufficiently exerted myself to rescue them from their miserable fate. I therefore resolved to make another effort to save the residue, by returning to the field of battle, if I could get any assistance. It was, indeed, greatly apprehended by us, that the deserted women would all be killed by the Bechuanas, before

we could return to protect them; but it was considered to be of importance to ascertain, at all events, whether the defeated tribes had entirely left the country, or not; for until that was known, the Missionaries could not consider themselves out of danger after the Griquas returned to their homes. With this object in view, and also to ascertain the fate of the forlorn women, who I hoped might still be living, it was agreed that Mr. Hamilton and I should again proceed to Lattakoo, or farther if necessary.

We set out on Tuesday, the 31st of June, in an ox-waggon, accompanied by a Hottentot belonging to the station, who drove the waggon, and by two Bechuana boys. We travelled five hours, and halted for the night at the Maquareen River. The next morning at sunrise we proceeded forward to the next spring. When we came within sight of this place, Mr. Hamilton and I walked on before the waggon, and thought it necessary to look about us to see that all was safe before we unyoked the oxen; for it was uncertain whether the defeated tribes might not have resumed their former route, after our departure. In going round the mimosa bushes, that grow about the spring, we were rather startled by the sight of a fire, and were still more surprised, on advancing nearer, to see a pot of victuals upon it, and the fresh foot-marks of two or three persons, who appeared to have run away on our approach.

We hastily retreated to our waggon, which was just coming up, and without unyoking the oxen, the Hottentot, Mr. Hamilton, and myself, took our guns, and proceeded to examine the suspicious appearances more particularly. When the driver saw the foot-marks, he immediately pronounced them to be those of women, and we endeavoured to trace them out. After a brief search among the bushes, we came upon one who was lying down, covered over with a carosse; I called out—and one of the women immediately started up and smiled, expressing neither surprise nor fear. Our driver then spoke to her in the Bechuana language, and learnt from her

that there were two more; and after explaining who we were, and what our object was, she went and called her companions, who soon made their appearance. They informed us that they had come on from the field of battle, and that many more women were coming along the road. We furnished them with meat for three or four days, and proceeded.

Our journey now became more interesting, and we hoped to be able to bring away all the females that had been left behind. We travelled on towards the next spring, where we intended to halt for the night. Judging it proper to take every precaution, as we had no horses, to avoid falling in with the savage tribes, we proposed reaching the fountain after dark, that we might see the fires at a distance, in case they were encamped at that place. Mr. Hamilton and I walked on before the waggon with our guns. About dusk in the evening we came in sight of the spring, where we saw fires, and a number of people near them. Not being able to distinguish whether they were men or women, we thought it prudent to retreat to the waggon, and endeavour to ascertain who they were before we ventured among them. When we got to the waggon, by the little light that remained, we perceived a number of people running in a crouching posture from the fires, which resembled very much the manner in which the Mantatees attacked the Griquas, running out from each wing to surround them. On this occasion the terrific appearance they made on the day of battle, presented itself vividly to my imagination, and we really apprehended we were about to be surrounded by them; the increasing darkness rendering every object indistinct, and leaving the fancy to paint the scene in the most frightful colours. Mr. Hamilton thought it would be best to retreat as quickly as possible; but I considered that if they were really the Mantatee warriors, it would be vain to attempt to escape by running; so we finally resolved to advance rather than flee, and getting upon the waggon, we drove a little nearer, and ordered our Bechuana to call out, and ask if they were women. Our ap-

prehensions were relieved by an answer in the affirmative, and by the soft sound of their voices, which we perceived to be female. Upon telling them our purpose, they went back to the fires, but could not be prevailed upon to come near us. On approaching the fires, we found fifteen women and children, who seemed quite happy to hear we were come to save their lives, instead of destroying them, as they at first supposed.* They informed us that there were more women coming along the road; and we now felt at ease, and unyoked the oxen.

Perceiving, however, a fire at some distance, in the direction of Lattakoo, we thought it necessary to ascertain whether we had any thing to fear from that quarter; and therefore leaving Mr. Hamilton to cook some victuals, the Hottentot, our Bechuana interpreter, and myself, walked towards the fire. When within 100 yards, hearing women's voices, we called out to them, and instantly a number of people rushed into the bushes; but not doubting that they were women, we advanced, and spoke to them. Seeing we were not come as enemies, they returned to the fire, and we explained the object of our visit. We then returned to our waggon, and after taking our supper, and committing ourselves to the care of Providence, we went to rest.

Early next morning, having directed the women to go on to the place where we had met the first three refugees, and to wait there till we returned, we proceeded towards Lattakoo. We found a number of dead bodies lying among the bushes, and along the path, being apparently the carcases of unfortunate creatures that had come on without provisions, and had thus perished.

* The vignette prefixed to this chapter contains portraits of two of the poor creatures rescued by the very meritorious exertions of Messrs. Melvill, Hamilton, and Moffat. The female, by name *Mahum*, has a mild and pleasing countenance, as, indeed, most of the Mantatee females have, indicating nothing of cannibal ferocity. She is now in Cape Town, and has proved herself a very good and faithful servant.

The other figure is that of a boy about nine years of age, named *Tahana*. He was saved by Mr. Moffat, and having lost all his own relatives, has become affectionately domesticated in the family of his benefactor.

Besides the women we had seen last night, we met a few others who had left Lattakoo and were coming onward. We had now passed thirty-seven women and children, most of whom were without victuals, and would, perhaps, have also perished of hunger before they reached Kuruman, if we had not met and relieved them.

After we had travelled about an hour, we halted within three miles of the place where the battle was fought a week before, in a situation where the waggon could not easily be discovered from that quarter. Having ascended a little hill which commanded a view of Lattakoo, we observed the smoke of fires in four different places: smoke was also seen rising from the town, which had been set on fire during the battle, and was about three or four miles distant. Two persons were likewise discovered in a valley, about three quarters of a mile from us, driving a cow. These appearances were rather suspicious, but we still thought there was little reason to fear, and, therefore, went down to the nearest fire, which was in an old cattle enclosure. Here a spectacle presented itself to us, sufficient to touch the hardest heart. One woman was sitting by a fire, boiling and eating her skin carosse: another, who had been wounded by a poisoned arrow, lay expiring, apparently in great agony, and with her body extremely swollen and bloated: a third appeared so weak for want of food, that she could just crawl. They expressed neither joy nor fear at our approach. We endeavoured to comfort them, by explaining that we had come to save their lives, and by supplying them with a little bread; but they appeared so much bowed down by calamity as scarcely to be sensible of our presence.

From this melancholy scene we went on to another fire, about 300 yards farther, and had there to witness objects equally distressing. A woman and two children were sitting over a fire, too faint, apparently, to be able to speak, nor did they seem the least surprised to see us. A youth, about sixteen years of age, was lying under his carosse. He had been severely wounded in the

head, and had apparently fallen upon the fire, for he was lying upon the ashes, and was very much burnt. He was still living, and I doubt not was in great agony, but he could not be induced to get up, nor would he speak a word. Notwithstanding the misery of these people, they never expressed their sorrow by tears or groans.

Not having it in our power to mitigate their sufferings, at least for the present, we proceeded to discover who the persons were whom we had seen driving a cow. On advancing to the spot where we first saw them, we found the cow standing, but the people had hid themselves in the bushes. When we got nearer, one woman started up, and cried out that she had been "taking care of our cow,"—not doubting, I suppose, that we were coming to look after it, and, might perhaps, kill her. Her fears, however, being removed by our manner, and by what we said to her, she came forward, and soon after, the other woman also came out of her hiding-place, and we directed them to go on to the waggon to get something to eat.

From this we directed our course towards two other fires, about two miles distant, down the valley. The smoke appeared to arise from several fires together, so that we conceived there might be some hundreds of women there. Although we had little doubt of their being females, yet, as we were on foot, and incapable of defending ourselves against even a small party of the warriors, who might still be in the neighbourhood, we proceeded towards the fires, not without suspicion, and some degree of anxiety. When we had advanced but a short distance, the Hottentot suddenly halted, and told us we must go no farther; pointing, at the same time, to the footmarks of a great number of people, who, he said, were *men*, and must have passed that way the day before. Upon consideration, it appeared quite probable that they were a body of the Mantatees, and that the fires we had seen were made by them,—the footmarks leading in that direction. It was judged ad-

visable, therefore, to make the best of our way to the waggon; and, as we retreated, we looked suspiciously around us, fearing to be discovered by some of the savages who might be straggling about. On our way back, however, reflecting that we could still only carry home an uncertain report, we agreed to return once more, and reconnoitre the fires after dark.

On arriving at the place where we saw the three women in the miserable state above described, we found, that one of those we had seen with the cow, had stopped here instead of going to the waggon; nor could she now be induced to go forward, but preferred starving with her companions. Her other companion, however, had gone to the waggon, and was supplied with food. After taking some refreshment, towards evening we went back to the little hill from whence we had reconnoitred the neighbourhood in the morning; and one of the party creeping among the grass to the top, looked all around to see if any stragglers could be discovered; but not a human being could be seen, and it was nearly dark before we could discern the large fire which we had seen in the morning. When night closed in we advanced towards the place where we had formerly seen the smoke. Before we got into the plain, it cost us some trouble to descend a steep, rocky declivity. No fire was now to be seen. Having walked more than half an hour, and still seeing no fires, we began to apprehend that we might find ourselves in the midst of them before we were aware; but at length we saw several lights a few hundred yards before us. We proceeded as cautiously as possible, until we got within 100 yards of them; and the Hottentot and Bechuana boy were ordered to creep still closer, to discover whether the voices we heard were those of men or women. In a few minutes the Bechuana returned to say, that he heard men's voices, but the Hottentot thought he only heard women's, and wished me to approach

with him that I might be satisfied. I therefore went with him, and got within twenty-five yards of the nearest fire. There were, altogether, about fifteen fires in different places. Only a few people were sitting by them, but we saw several lying on the ground. Although the two or three voices we heard were women's, we still thought it probable, from the circumstance of having seen the footmarks of men coming down in this direction, that there might be men as well as women present; we therefore deemed it imprudent to venture farther, and finally retreated back as we came, considering it our most obvious duty to rescue the forlorn creatures we had already found, rather than hazard our own lives for an uncertain benefit.

The next morning we set off on our return to Kuruman. At evening we reached the place where we had met the first three women, at the fountain, and found no less than fifty-four women and children waiting for us. Next day we again moved forward, and at dark had proceeded halfway to the Maquareen River. On our way we met two Bechuanas, who brought a note from Mr. Moffat, stating that messengers had been sent to Kuruman with intelligence that the Mantatees, after their defeat, had marched upon Nokuning, captured that place, and carried off all the cattle; and that they had come the following day, and attacked Mahoomapèlo and Levenkels, the two Bechuana chiefs who had fled from Lattakoo, and had likewise carried off their cattle and women.

On the afternoon of the following day we arrived at Kuruman, where we found that the Missionaries' wives had departed for Griqua Town, being afraid, as the Griquas had left the country, that the Mantatees would return to attack the place. Mr. Moffat was waiting our return with much anxiety. He had dispatched a letter to the Griqua Chief, Waterboer, informing him of the depredations that the Mantatees were still committing in the neighbourhood of Lattakoo, and requesting him to return immediately to defend

Kuruman. Waterboer received this letter when about half-way between Kuruman and Griqua Town, and sent back an answer, assuring Mr. Moffat that he was quite willing to return, but having received notice that four tribes of savages were coming down the banks of the Gariep, he and his band were obliged to hasten to Griqua Town to defend their own homes. Being somewhat anxious about my family, I left Kuruman on the evening of the 7th, with the missionaries' waggons, consigning the Mantatee women to the care of Mr. Hamilton, to be brought onward at leisure.

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE CAFFER TRIBES.—THE BECHUANAS.—THE AMAKOSÆ AND AMATYMBÆ—TRIBE OF EUROPEAN LINEAGE.—CONQUESTS OF CHAKA, CHIEF OF THE ZOOLAS.

HAVING in the preceding chapters sufficiently detailed the transactions which took place among the Bechuana tribes whom I visited, upon the approach of the Mantatees, and the subsequent encounter of those marauders with the Griquas, I shall now, before concluding this section of the work, offer a few remarks of a more general nature, in order to elucidate more distinctly the character and present condition of the several divisions of the great Caffer race. The appellation *Caffer* (or unbeliever) was originally applied to the inhabitants of the south-eastern coasts of Africa, by the Moorish navigators of the Indian ocean, and borrowed from them by

the Portuguese. In later times, when the Dutch colonists of the Cape came in contact with the most southern tribe of Caffers (the *Amakosæ*), the Moorish appellation began to be applied exclusively to them; and in this restricted sense it has been used by some travellers, and is still generally used both by the Dutch and English colonists. It has been well known, however, ever since the publication of Mr. Barrow's work on the Cape, that the southern Caffers, and the numerous tribes lying to the north and east of them, are only subdivisions of one great nation, to which, collectively, later travellers, for want of any other term sufficiently comprehensive, have applied the name of *Caffers;* and I shall here follow their example.

The wide extension of this remarkable race of men is now fully ascertained. From a great variety of concurring evidence, it may be considered as sufficiently established, that the tribes commonly called Caffers, or Koosas, (Amakosæ,) the Tambookies, (Amatymbæ,) the natives of Hambona, of Natal, of Delagoa Bay, and Mozambique, the Damaras on the west coast, beyond Namaqualand, and the numerous Bechuana tribes who occupy the interior of the Continent to an extent yet unexplored, are not only sprung from one common stock, but bear so striking a resemblance to each other in language, customs, and mode of life, as to be readily recognised as subdivisions of one great family. In language, especially, by which the lineage of barbarous nations is most readily traced, these various tribes are obviously brethren. The Bechuana, or (as some term it) the *Sichuana* dialect, prevails universally among the interior tribes, so far as they have yet been visited, and varies but slightly from that of the Damaras and Delagoans on the two opposite coasts. The Amakosa tongue (which is spoken also by the Amatymbæ, and other adjoining tribes,) differs more considerably, but not to such a degree as has usually been imagined. The body of all these dialects is the same; and whatever may be the diversities of idiom and construction among them, it has been found that natives of those several

tribes, when brought into contact, are able, after a very little practice, to converse fluently with each other. How far these affinities of race and language may extend to the northward, I cannot pretend to determine; but I have seen a vocabulary of the language of Joanna, one of the Comoro Islands, drawn up by the Rev. Wm. Elliott, a missionary lately resident there, which proves that those Islanders, and probably also the aboriginal tribes of Madagascar, speak a dialect very intimately allied to those of Caffraria and Mozambique.

Leaving, however, the questions, as to the wide extension of this language, as well as the original derivation of the numerous tribes by whom it is spoken, to the discussion of more learned inquirers, I proceed now to offer some brief remarks upon the present state—

1st. Of the Bechuana tribes.

2d. Of the southern Caffers, viz. the Amakosæ, the Amatymbæ, &c.

3d. Of the Zoolas, or Vatwahs, and the wandering hordes called the Mantatees and Ficani.

The peculiar manners and polity of the Bechuanas have recently been very minutely, or, on the whole, accurately described by Burchell. It is not my intention, therefore, to enter into any lengthened detail on these points; but having visited the Matclhapee tribe under circumstances of unusual excitement, their real character was probably, in some respects, more clearly unveiled to my observation, than to that of any of my precursors; and so far as that goes, the details I have already given, may serve to correct or elucidate preceding statements. Every one, indeed, who visits a barbarous people, without some previous knowledge of their character and language, is liable to be continually led astray both by his own misapprehension of what he witnesses, and still more by the imperfection of the channels through which he must necessarily receive information at second-hand. Men of great natural shrewdness, such as Mr. Barrow, will no doubt see more clearly, and

apprehend more distinctly than others; but the acutest inquirer will find himself frequently liable to mistakes, which ought to render him indulgent to those of his predecessors. For my own part, my pretensions as a scientific traveller are far too humble to allow me to consider myself as the rival of men of such various acquirements as Sparrman, Barrow, Lichtenstein, or Burchell; and if I am enabled to supply any information which they have omitted, or to correct what they have mistaken, I am very sensible that fortunate circumstances, and not superior acuteness, have favoured me with success.

In depicting the character of the Bechuanas, Dr. Lichtenstein, though an able and intelligent man, has, from too hasty observation, or from inaccurate information, fallen into very great errors. He has represented them as a people of open, manly, and generous character, disdaining in their wars or negotiations every sort of chicane or deceit, "a proof," as he expresses it, "of their natural rectitude and consciousness of strength." Yet the very reverse of all this is the fact. Like most other barbarians, their political wisdom consists of duplicity and petty cunning, and their ordinary wars are merely predatory incursions upon their weaker neighbours, for the purpose of carrying off cattle, with as little exposure as possible of their own lives. Their expeditions against the Bushmen are peculiarly vindictive, and conducted with all the insidiousness and murderous ferocity, without the heroic intrepidity of American or New Zealand savages. The anecdote which Lichtenstein himself relates of a Bechuana warrior murdering one of his bondsmen, in order not to appear among his comrades without the usual savage trophy of heroism, (viz. the navel-skin of a slaughtered enemy,) indicates a national character very different from what he has too hastily ascribed to them.

The conduct of Mateebè and his followers towards the wounded Mantatees and the female prisoners, after the combat at Lattakoo, displays still more unequivocally the mean malignity, the utter deprivation of pity, the want

of honour or gratitude, and the brutal selfishness of these barbarians. It is not among the Bechuanas, assuredly, that we are to look either for the innocence which poets have ascribed to the pastoral ages, or for the rougher virtues of the heroic times.

Among other circumstances which point out the low state of civilization among all the Caffer nations, the condition of the women is one of the most obvious. Upon them all the hard work and drudgery devolves; they alone build the houses, cultivate the ground, reap and grind the corn, and cook the victuals; while, with the exception of making their leather mantles, the men, when not employed in war or hunting, pass the greater part of their time in sheer idleness, or in empty talk.

In all savage nations, however, the degradation of the females is an ordinary feature. The neglect of the aged is less universal; for the natural sentiments of reverence and gratitude have among many nations, not in other respects more civilized than the Bechuanas, preserved their full influence in society. Among the latter, however, the general neglect of the old and helpless is even more revolting than the slavery of the women. The chiefs alone seem to have any respect paid them in their declining years.

Having noticed those striking defects, I must on the other hand observe in candour, that these tribes are not destitute of more pleasing qualities. They are generally good-natured and obliging to strangers and to each other; and however much a traveller may be teased by their continual begging, he is in little danger of being either robbed or ill-used in travelling among them, with however small a retinue. The peregrinations of the missionaries, and of the slave Arend and others among these tribes, without danger or obstruction, sufficiently prove this fact; and I cannot help thinking that Mr. Burchell has somewhat misapprehended their character in this respect. In his particular case they soon perceived that his followers were both timid and disaffected, and the chiefs did not fail to take advantage of his awkward situa-

C. Thompson Esq.r del.

UTENSILS, ORNAMENTS, &c.

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tion, to exact all they possibly could from him by importunate begging, and by overreaching him in barter; but beyond this there is no evidence, nor I think likelihood, that their cupidity would have proceeded.

Their industry in cultivation, and the extreme neatness and good order displayed in their houses and inclosures, are also highly deserving of praise.* And though these labours fall at present heavily upon the poor females, the minds of the tyrant sex require only to be enlightened and humanized by Christianity to render them equally industrious. The readiness with which they have already adopted several improvements in their agriculture from the example of the missionaries, may be cited as a very favourable symptom. The Matclhapees, for example, have not only adopted the cultivation of the pumpkin, and some other culinary plants, but have begun to water their gardens by irrigation; an operation of almost indispensable importance in the interior parts of Southern Africa, but before the arrival of the missionaries, entirely unknown to the natives. Consequently, their culture was limited to a species of Indian millet *(holcus sorghum)*, and to a particular sort of bean and water melon, all of which, though peculiarly adapted to bear drought, were yet frequently injured, and occasionally destroyed by the long want of rain; and

* UTENSILS AND ORNAMENTS OF THE BECHUANA AND CAFFER TRIBES.

No. 1. Bechuana spoon, with carved handle.

2, 3, 4. Carved wooden vessels.

5. Earthen jar for holding milk, &c.

6. Ornament for the head, composed of shells woven upon a braid of fine grass.

7. Musical instrument from Delagoa Bay. It is formed of pieces of bamboo resting upon calabashes.

8. Two drumsticks for beating the preceding instrument.

9. Ornament for the neck. It is made of native copper, of a light gold colour, and weighs 1¼ lb.

10, 11. Needle case and needles, five inches in length.

12. Two pieces of wood for procuring fire.

13. Zoola door key, carved out of hard wood.

scarcity or famine was the consequence. But no sooner had Messrs. Moffat and Hamilton led out the Kuruman rivulet to irrigate their gardens, than the natives immediately perceived the advantage of this art, and became eager competitors for the use of the water.*

* In the close of 1823, Mr. Moffat, having occasion to visit Cape Town, was accompanied, at the desire of Mateebè, by his son Peclu and the chief Teysho, his aged counsellor. An account of their conduct and remarks on this occasion, given by the editors of the South African Journal, will form a suitable appendage to what has been already said of them and their countrymen in general.

"The elder of these strangers, old Teysho, is one of the principal counsellors of Mateebè, king or chief of the Matclhapees. He is reckoned a man of prudence and ability, and possesses great influence in the counsels of his tribe.

"The younger chief, Peclu, is the eldest son and heir-apparent of king Mateebè, and seems to be a pleasing and intelligent youth of about eighteen. They are each waited on by a servant of their tribe; and all are dressed in the native mantle or carosse of dressed cow-hide, leopard, or wild-cat skin, according to their respective ranks or wealth.

"The confidence displayed by Mateebè, in thus entrusting both his heir and his "prime minister" to the charge of a humble Missionary, on an unknown journey of 1000 miles, into the territory of a foreign power, is alike creditable to himself and to the prudence and approved worth of Mr. Moffat; and we trust, that what they have seen and learned of us here, will assist in promoting their own welfare, and the civilization of their people.

"Soon after their arrival in Town, Mr. Moffat carried Teysho and Peclu on board some of the largest vessels in Table Bay; and as they had never even seen the "Great Deep" until their arrival at this place, their admiration and astonishment, as may well be imagined, were extreme. When they first embarked in the boat, Teysho remarked, that if he did not perceive from the countenances of his friend Mr. Moffat and the other gentlemen, that they were in no danger, his very heart would melt within him. But, by degrees, both he and Peclu recovered their ease and serenity; and on reaching the vessel, every other feeling seemed absorbed in profound astonishment. It was not without some difficulty that Teysho was convinced that the ship was really afloat, and not a 'water-house,' fixed to the bottom of the sea. One of the party, after surveying the cabin, the hold, and every part of the vessel, exclaimed in his native tongue, that it "was for certain an uncreated thing,—a thing come of itself and never made by human hands!' In this opinion all his countrymen joined,—and it was only after a long explanation, communicated by Mr. Moffat through the sage Teysho, that they at length gave up this ready solution, and allowed the matchless wisdom and superiority of the 'Macooas,' or civilized men, whose genius could construct and render subservient to their wishes, such a stupendous and beautiful fabric.

"A few days afterwards, the Bechuana chiefs paid a visit to ourselves, along with Mr. Moffat, at a little cottage, behind the Lion's Head, overhanging the precipitous and romantic

It seems, indeed, not a little remarkable that the Bechuana tribes should have remained stationary at that point of civilization which they have reached. They are agriculturists to a certain extent; but not sufficiently so to derive from the soil more than a precarious and insufficient addition to their subsistence as herdsmen and hunters. They possess the art of working in iron and copper; but have applied this knowledge to no other purpose than the manufacture of assagais, hatchets, and personal ornaments. Their towns are often

shore of the 'broad Atlantic.' They seemed struck and even alarmed at the thunders of the vasty deep; and a ship that was sailing past, and the additional things that were told of its uses and powers, excited their highest wonder.

"We entered into conversation with Teysho, through the medium of Mr. Moffat, and Hatta, the interpreter. Referring to the vessel that was passing by, Teysho said, that a ship was the most wonderful thing he had seen among the 'Macooas;' and it gave him a very high notion of our wisdom. Our reading and writing, he said, also astonished him. He had observed, that when the missionary received a letter, he was 'almost quite as happy as if he had shaken hands with the friend who wrote it.'—He next turned the conversation to the religious information communicated by the missionaries. We inquired, whether the Bechuanas had heard of a God, or an after-state of existence, before the missionaries came among them. He said, No:—they had indeed heard of the 'Moreemo,' (Deity); but only from their physicians, or 'medicine-men.' The people generally had no idea of the kind: nor had they any previous knowledge of the immortality of the soul.

"We asked him, whether he thought our manner of life, or that of his own country, preferable. He said, each was best for those who were used to it. He saw that we were a wiser and more knowing people than the Bechuanas; but from long habit, he preferred the customs and manner of life of his own country to ours.

"We remarked that it was the *knowledge* of civilized men that made them powerful. He had seen a hundred Griquas defeat 50,000 savage Mantatees, who had previously destroyed so many nations. If the Bechuanas were to learn to plough and sow bread-corn, use waggons, and acquire our arms and knowledge, they would no longer be exposed to destruction from the nations around them. That *our* forefathers had once been a poor and ignorant people like themselves, without stone houses or great ships, and without any other clothing than softened hides, like their own mantles;—but that a wise nation had come over, and taught us *knowledge*, in consequence of which we had since become great, wealthy, and powerful, as he perceived.

"Teysho seemed struck with this fact, and promised to follow diligently, when he returned home, the instructions of 'Moffat,' and learn to plough and sow, and eat bread-corn; and encourage his people to become industrious, wise, and mighty, like the 'Macooas.'"

I regret to add, that Peclu died at Kuruman, some time after their return.

so considerable as to contain many thousand people; and yet they are removable at the caprice of the chief, like an Arab camp. Their system of government is monarchical, rank is hereditary, and the prerogative of the principal chief is apparently absolute; yet it is obvious that his authority over the inferior captains and separate clans is exceedingly feeble and circumscribed.

In this dubious state, between civilized and savage life; between the fixed and the nomade; partly husbandmen, partly herdsmen, partly hunters; the Caffer tribes appear to have remained for ages, and for ages might still remain, unless the exertions of the Missionaries are blessed with success. Once converted to Christianity, their civilization, to a considerable extent, must necessarily follow; or rather, civil and political improvement must go hand in hand with moral amelioration.

The intercourse of Europeans with barbarous nations, except where it has led (as unhappily it has but too seldom done) to disinterested exertions for their improvement, has usually issued in their enthralment, their extirpation, or their moral debasement. The present condition of the Caffers on the south-eastern frontier of the Colony, does not contradict this assertion. They have not improved since we came in contact with them. In some respects they have retrograded. Still, however, they are a manly race; and, though somewhat inferior to the Bechuanas in the mechanical arts, they are vastly their superiors in courage, in enterprise, and above all in humanity. Barrow and Lichtenstein, though they have fallen into some inaccuracies, have not exaggerated the fine qualities of this people. I visited them in the year 1821; and though disappointed in regard to King Gaika, (whose good qualities seem to have been greatly overrated,) I was on the whole much pleased with the manners and appearance of the people. The despotism of the chiefs over the inferior ranks is much less oppressive, and more easily evaded than among the Bechuanas; and there is no class of them, like what are called the "poor Bechuanas," in a state of absolute bondage. The power and influence of the

chiefs depend so much on their popularity, and the transfer of allegiance from one chief to another is so readily effected, that the arbitrary power of the hereditary aristocracy is under tolerably efficient checks.

Their internal wars are generally prosecuted with little animosity. The prisoners taken in battle, and the women and children of the vanquished, are uniformly spared. If in their wars with the colonists they have sometimes evinced a more vindictive spirit, it may be questioned whether their ferocity has not been exasperated by the unworthy and cruel treatment they have often experienced from the Christians.

Crimes are tried among them in a public court, by the chief and his council, and all matters of general interest are discussed in public meetings, similar to the Bechuana Peetshoes. The great curse of the people, equally here as among the Bechuanas, is the belief in sorcery, which frequently becomes an engine of dreadful cruelty and injustice. From the progress, however, which the missionaries have recently made among them, it is to be hoped that the phantoms of superstition will ere long give place to the influence of a religion which, wherever it is known in purity, at once enlightens the intellect and elevates the morals.*

* THE CAFFER.

Lo! where he crouches by the Kloof's dark side,
Eyeing the farmer's lowing herds afar;
Impatient watching, till the evening star
Lead forth the twil'ght dim, that he may glide
Like panther to the prey. With freeborn pride
He scorns the herdsman, nor regards the scar
Of recent wound,—but burnishes for war
His assagai and targe of buffalo hide.
He is a robber?—True; it is a strife
Between the black-skinned bandit and the white.
A savage?—Yes; though loth to aim at life,
Evil for evil fierce he doth requite.
A heathen?—Teach him, then, thy better creed,
Christian! if thou deserv'st that name indeed. T. P.

This tribe, including the clans of Gaika, Hinza, and several independent chiefs of inferior note, occupies a tract of country extending along the coast from the colonial frontier (now formed by the Keiskamma and Chumi) to the river Bashi or St. John. This tract is about 200 miles in length by sixty or seventy in breadth; and the population of the whole tribe may probably amount to about 100,000 souls. Their country is consequently far more densely peopled than any district of the Colony, or than even the Bechuana country. Having been recently dispossessed of the territory between the Keiskamma and Fish River, their kraals are now crowded upon one another, in such a manner that there is scarcely sufficient pasture for their cattle; and, unless they borrow from the Colony the advantage of an improved mode of agriculture, famine must occasionally prevail, till their numbers are again reduced to the limits which the country can support on their present system. Until some such change takes place, it will perhaps scarcely be practicable, even by an improved system of defence, altogether to repress depredations upon the Colony.

The native appellation of this tribe is Amakosæ, and their country is called by them Amakosina. These words are formed from *Kosa*, which is used to designate a single individual of their nation, the plural and derivatives being formed in these as in other instances, by prefixing the particle *Amma* or *Am*. In the same manner a Tambookie Caffer is termed Tymba or Tembu, while the tribe collectively is called Amatymbæ. A Hottentot is termed Umlào, the Hottentot nation Ammulào, &c. &c. Lichtenstein has described this tribe of Caffers under the name of *Koosas*.*

* For further particulars respecting the Amakosæ Caffers, I refer the reader to the Appendix, where a variety of details, furnished by the intelligent missionary Mr. Brownlee, will be found,—forming, as I conceive, no unimportant addition to the accounts of this interesting people already before the public.

Of the Tambookie (properly the *Amatymbæ*) tribe, it is not necessary to say much. In language, manners and polity, they exactly resemble their neighbours, the Amakosæ. Their territory extends from the river Zwart-Kei, on the frontier of the Colony, to the sea-coast beyond Hinza's country. How far they occupy the country to the north-east, is not precisely ascertained, nor indeed does it seem easy to distinguish them from the adjoining Caffer tribes, who are generally known in the Colony by the corrupt appellation of *Mambookies*. The fact appears to be, that these various tribes, as far, at least, as Point Natal, closely resemble the frontier Caffers in appearance, language, and mode of life, just as the Bechuana clans resemble each other. Neither the Amakosæ, the Amatymbæ, nor the Hambona tribes, are now severally united, each in one community, but are subdivided into many independent sections, governed by their respective chiefs.

It is only within the last ten or twelve years that the Amatymbæ Caffers have extended themselves so far west as the Colonial frontier. In former times the elevated plains, near the sources of the river Kei, were occupied by a tribe of Hottentots or Bushmen; and it is mentioned by Sparrman, that the boors, in his time, used to make incursions into these regions, to kidnap or purchase the natives for servants. Between the Christians, on the one hand, however, and the Caffers on the other, the aboriginal inhabitants have been almost entirely extirpated; and in this quarter, the river Zwart-Kei now forms the boundary between the colonists and the tribe of Amatymbæ. The latter have hitherto been very quiet and orderly neighbours to the Colony, and mutual good-will and harmony prevail between them and the farmers, forming a striking contrast to the animosity and harassing state of reciprocal aggression which has long prevailed upon the more southern frontier.

Following the coast to the north-eastward, we meet with the Amaponda

and Hambona tribes.* These are understood to be Caffer clans, similar to those already described, and require no particular notice. But in this quarter is also found the residence of a small tribe or horde of mixed European and African blood, whose history, obscure and imperfect as it is, can scarcely fail to awaken a more peculiar interest. They are the descendants of Europeans, who were wrecked upon this coast, and who, finding no means of escape, had settled here, and intermarried with the Natives. This point I consider to be fully ascertained; but as much scepticism has been expressed in regard to it, and as the matter is curious, I shall take this opportunity briefly to throw together such information on the subject as has fallen in my way.

The wreck of the Grosvenor Indiaman in 1782, and the expedition dispatched by the Dutch Government of the Cape nine years afterwards to ascertain the fate of the survivors, are matters well known from the publication of Van Reenen's Journal, by Captain Riou. It will be remembered that the exploratory party, on their arrival in the Hambona territory, and just before reaching the wreck of the Grosvenor, fell in with a horde of about four hundred souls, descended from the intermarriage of Europeans with the natives, and found among them three old white women still alive. These women informed them that they had been shipwrecked there when so very young, that they had entirely forgot their native language, and could neither tell the name of the ship nor to what nation they belonged; but that they had been brought up by the natives, and married among them, &c. The horde of mulattoes to whom these women belonged, are moreover stated to have been in possession of herds of cattle, and to have had large and fine gar-

* These words are probably only variations of the same name, which some natives also pronounce *Yambana*. The appellation *Mambooki* appears to have been manufactured by the Dutch colonists out of these names, by some process similar to that by which they transmogrified *Amatymba* into *Tambooki*.

dens stocked with Caffer and Indian corn, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, bananas, beans, and other vegetables: they had obviously derived their lineage from the crew of some vessel wrecked on this coast at a period long previous to the loss of the Grosvenor. Of the crew of the latter, the exploratory party discovered no survivors. Such is the account given by Van Reenen, and this account was in all respects confirmed to me by old Peter Lombard, one of his party, whom I saw at Swellendam in 1822. Lombard also informed me that on their arrival, this tribe of Mulattoes made a great rejoicing, and cried out, "Our fathers are come." *

By recent accounts, it would seem that this clan of mixed blood have been driven from their settlements in Hambona, or at least partially dispersed, during the recent disturbances occasioned by the destructive progress of the Zoolas under King Chaka, of which I shall speak farther by and by. In all the reports respecting the Mantatees which were current among the Bechuana tribes at the time of my visit to Kuruman in 1823, the presence of men of yellow complexion and long hair was uniformly stated; and though no individuals of this description were found among the slain on the plain of Lattakoo, the credibility of the statement is not on that account invalidated, when it is considered how small a proportion these "yellow people," (even supposing their whole tribe had been present) must have formed of the numerous host of invaders. The evidence of the female prisoners rescued by Messrs. Melvill and Moffat, some of whom I have since seen in Cape Town, corroborated the preceding statements on this subject.

In connexion with this it may be observed, that Mr. Brownlee, on a visit which he made in 1824 to Vosani, the principal chief of the Tambookies, who resides to the eastward of Hinza's territory, was informed that some families of white or mixed breed, descended from persons who had been

* Some extracts from Van Reenen's Journal, with other particulars connected with this subject, will be found in the Appendix.

shipwrecked on the coast, were still to be found among a neighbouring tribe, whom, however, Vosani (from whatever cause) would not permit him to visit. An individual, seen by Captain King among Chaka's followers, having European features, long hair, mustachios, and a large beard, may also have probably sprung from a similar origin.

From the frontier of the Amapondæ (or Hambona Caffers) on the south-west, as far as the river Mapoota and Delagoa Bay on the north, and as far into the interior, at least, as the great ridge of mountains, in whose western sides the Gariep has its principal sources, the whole country is now under the sway of one formidable tribe, governed by a chief named Chaka. This man, originally the sovereign of an obscure but warlike people, called Zoolas, or Vatwahs, has, within the last eight or nine years, conquered or extirpated the whole of the native tribes from Delagoa Bay to Hambona; and has established a barbaric kingdom of large extent, which he governs upon a system of military despotism, strikingly contrasted with the loose patriarchal polity generally prevalent among the other Caffer tribes.*

* The heads of two Zoola warriors, drawn from life, are prefixed to this chapter. The precise origin of this tribe is not very clearly ascertained; but they are evidently of Caffer lineage; and the following extract from a letter of the missionary Threlfall, written from Delagoa Bay, in August 1823, seems to indicate that they and the Mantatees are only different hordes of the same race :—

" A powerful tribe, called Vatwahs, have lately overrun many of the little states in the vicinity of Delagoa Bay. All that I can learn of this nation is, that they are originally from the country adjoining to the sources of the Mapoota River, and the mountains west of English River. They are a very bold and warlike people, of a free and noble carriage, and are characterised by having large holes cut in the flaps of their ears, in which they suspend various articles of moderate weight. They have the finest figures of any of the natives of this country that I have seen. For two or three years past, the devastations of the Vatwahs have been like those of a swarm of locusts throughout all the adjoining countries; and being a very manly and martial people, they have driven out the natives, and possessed themselves of the whole territory, from Mamalong, on King George's River, about thirty miles from the Portuguese Factory, up to Port Natal. The Vatwahs, like all the tribes of the interior, from 13°. S. Lat. to the borders of the Cape Colony, are well acquainted with the use of iron. It is said

The steps by which Chaka has attained the uncontrolled authority which he now exercises over his followers, are not as yet very distinctly known; but may be surmised to be similar to those by which savage heroes usually raise themselves to empire—namely, cunning and audacity. Of his destructive wars, as they have affected the other native tribes, I shall speak presently; but it will be expedient to notice, in the first place, the new British settlement in his dominions.

In 1825, Mr. Farewell, a half-pay lieutenant in the navy, proceeded with a party from the Cape, in a small vessel, to Port Natal; and having obtained a grant of the adjoining territory from Chaka, he erected a little fort, with the view of commencing an establishment to trade with the Natives. Notwithstanding the loss of two small vessels on the coast, the prospects of a profitable commerce appear so flattering as to induce the party still to persevere. Mr. Farewell and some other Englishmen recently paid a visit to King Chaka, at his chief residence of Zoola, about 140 miles from the English settlement; and from their accounts it appears, that this barbarian has sagacity enough to appreciate the commercial advantages to be derived from a friendly intercourse with Europeans. He cannot, of course, foresee that the admission of a few mercantile adventurers may perhaps ultimately lead to the subjugation of his kingdom and posterity. The despotic power of this savage conqueror is said to be supported by an armed force of about 15,000 men, constantly maintained under his direct command, and prepared to

that the tribes of the interior manufacture all the implements of agriculture used on the coast even by the Portuguese. Such of the Vatwahs as I have seen were naked; but it is said they generally clothe themselves with the skins of animals, and live much on animal food. In war they cover their bodies with large shields of bullock's hide,, and carry in the same hand that bears the shield, six or eight assagais and a spear, to be used as occasion demands. They have a manly openness of character, which is very prepossessing; and though certainly great invaders and oppressors to the weaker tribes, it is said that they never attack an enemy without sending previous notice of their intention, and the time when they will appear."

execute, without hesitation, the most hazardous or bloody orders of their chief. Failure or defeat are said to be punished with immediate death; and an instance is mentioned where one of his captains, and a band of 450 men, were condemned to indiscriminate execution, for having allowed themselves to be defeated by the enemy. Such, it seems, is the severe discipline by which he drills his soldiery. The whole armed force of the Zoola nation is estimated (though I apprehend on very uncertain data) to amount to nearly 100,000 men, including, of course, every male fit to bear arms. The object of Chaka's wars appears to have been originally the plunder rather than the subjugation of the adjoining tribes. In the present state of these people, territory is indeed of value chiefly for pasturage, and cattle are the only property. Latterly, however, uniform success has puffed up the heart of this despot to such a pitch, that he now avows his determination to destroy every tribe that yet remains between him and the colonial boundary. If he survives ten years longer, it appears not improbable that he may actually succeed in executing this threat; and in that event we shall have on our eastern frontier a far more formidable neighbour than has ever yet been known to the Cape settlement. Chaka seems to want nothing but fire-arms to rival a king of Ashantee in audacity as well as cruelty.

The misery already inflicted by the wars of this barbarian upon the Caffer and Bechuana tribes is incalculable, and is far from being confined to the massacre and destruction directly occasioned by his arms. By plundering and driving out the adjoining nations, he has forced them to become plunderers in their turn, and to carry terror and devastation through the remotest quarters of Southern Africa. In short, the people dispossessed by Chaka became the marauding and cannibal *Mantatees*, whose origin and progress I shall briefly endeavour to trace in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ORIGIN OF THE MANTATEES.—THEIR IRRUPTION INTO THE INTERIOR, AND DEVASTATING PROGRESS.—THE FICANI, AMAZIZI, &c.—THEIR ATTACK UPON THE AMATYMBÆ CAFFERS, AND APPROACH TOWARDS THE COLONY.

THE reader, by referring to the map, will perceive that the great range of mountains, known in the Colony by the name of Nieuwveld-Bergen, Sneeuw-Bergen, Rhinoster-Bergen, Zuure-Bergen, and Storm-Bergen, is continued through what is called the Mambookie country, and that of the tribes beyond, as far as the vicinity of Delagoa Bay. This prolongation of the great interior range has been set down upon the authority of information derived from a variety of sources, and more particularly from the Wesleyan missionaries, who have penetrated up the branches of the Gariep farther than any other Europeans. Though continued in the map through the Caffer country with a fainter shade (because it cannot yet be laid down with any pretensions to geographical correctness), it seems probable that this ridge, as it extends to the north-east, maintains an equal, if not a superior, elevation to the principal part of the Sneeuwberg, inasmuch as the chief sources of the Gariep are now ascertained to arise in the Mambookie mountains, besides many considerable rivers flowing into the Indian ocean.

It will be observed that I have placed the native country of the maraud-

ing hordes, called Mantatees, among the mountains and elevated plains adjoining to the territory of the Zoolas. Such seems to have been their real origin; and I now offer the following sketch of their history as the result of the information I have been enabled to collect on the subject.*

The whole of the Caffer tribes derive their chief subsistence from the flesh and milk of their cattle; and, during their wars, the limited agriculture which they prosecute is often entirely neglected. If deprived of their cattle, they are consequently driven to absolute desperation, and must either become robbers in their turn, or perish of hunger. Such was the case with the Mantatees. Unable to withstand the overwhelming attack of the Zoola tribe, they were plundered and driven from their country; they joined forces with other clans who had shared a similar fate; and thus rendered formidable both by numbers and desperation, they precipitated themselves, like an avalanche, upon the weak and unwarlike tribes of the interior.

Respecting the real name of the Mantatees, there exists some diversity of opinion. My intelligent friend Captain Stockenstrom, of Graaff-Reinet, who has examined many of the fugitives that have lately taken refuge in his district, states that the word *Mantatee* signifies simply "Invader," or "Marauder," in the Bechuana language, and is an appellation given them by the plundered tribes, which they themselves universally disclaim. Another interpretation of the word was given me by the Barolong refugee whom I saw at Griqua Town; and some of the fugitives have, moreover, affirmed that a tribe named *Mantateezi* does really exist, though the mass of the marauding horde was composed of other clans. This may be dismissed as a question of no great importance. The two chief tribes who formed the

* The information derived from the female prisoners rescued by Messrs. Melvill and Moffat, has been compared with the reports of fugitives of many different tribes, who have since taken refuge in the Colony, and with the intelligence obtained by Captain Owen, Mr. Farewell, and other gentlemen who have lately visited the coasts of Natal and Delagoa Bay.

Mantatee host (for so I shall continue to call the invaders) are termed by the prisoners *Bacloqueeni* and *Mahallogani*, the country of the former approaching towards Hambona and Port Natal, and that of the latter lying about the sources of the river Mapoota.

These having associated themselves, as already stated, with some other clans of fugitives, expelled in like manner by the warlike Zoolas, formed a very numerous host. They were accompanied by their wives and children, and carried along with them, probably, such small part of their cattle as they had saved from the enemy. But a great proportion of this miserable horde of people, especially the women and the aged, appear to have been generally in a state of famine, from the time they first left their own country until the period when they were encountered by the Griquas, about two years afterwards. From the accounts of the prisoners, it appears but too certain that the rumours afloat among the Bechuanas, of their being cannibals, were not without foundation; though famine alone, and not savage propensity, seems to have driven them to prey upon the flesh of their enemies, or their dead comrades.

Having emerged from the great ridge of mountains, the Mantatees followed the course of the chief branch of the Gariep, overpowering in their route various clans of the Lehoya nation. They then proceeded to the northward, plundering and dispersing every Bechuana clan with whom they came in contact, to the number, it is said, of twenty-eight tribes. The populous town of Kurrechein, the capital of the Morootzi, was, among many others, sacked and burned by them. At length they were encountered by Makabba, the wary and warlike chief of the Wankeets, who, falling upon the Mantatees unawares, while they were divided into two bands, succeeded in defeating them with great slaughter, and turned back the tide of devastation from his own territories.

The invaders after this defeat, the first they appear to have sustained

since they left their own territory, being thrown into some confusion, and in great want of provisions, instead of continuing the contest with Makabba, suddenly changed their course to the southward, and fell with fury upon a branch of the less warlike Barolongs, whom they plundered and dispersed without opposition, and obtained a plentiful spoil of corn and cattle. Continuing their course to the southward, they came next upon the Tamachas, a weak tribe, whom they easily overwhelmed, and carried off their chief a prisoner, forcing him to act as a guide to lead them to the towns of the Barolongs, Myrees, and Matclhapees.

Long before this time the rumours of their devastations had spread throughout the Bechuana country, mingled with many fabulous tales, as I have formerly mentioned. The most marvellous of these stories did not fail to meet with a ready credence from the great mass of the weak and timid Bechuanas, especially as the accounts of their vast multitude, their strange arms, their cannibalism, and, above all, their fierce and desperate valour in battle, were found to be fully confirmed by the prisoners who escaped from them. These accounts, and their continued success, had spread the terror of the Mantatees over the whole country ; and, with the exception of Makabba (a man apparently much superior to the Bechuanas in general), they found, wherever they went, the people absolutely paralysed by the mere terror of their name, and, like birds quivering under the eye of the fascinating serpent, incapable alike of resistance or escape.

Such was the state of affairs when I first reached the capital of the Matclhapees with Mr. Moffat. The transactions which occurred during my visit, and the defeat of the Mantatees by the Griquas, have been already fully detailed.

It is sufficiently evident that the faint-hearted Matclhapees were totally incompetent to encounter the marauders ; and without the double advantage of fire-arms and horses, their desperate valour might have been formidable

even to the best-disciplined troops. But the sight of men on horseback, and the terrible effects of the muskets, both of which were entirely new to them, soon quelled their courage, and forced them to retreat, though with less of panic and disorder than might have been expected. The sound of the musketry, and the wounds inflicted by invisible weapons, were, as may be readily imagined, utterly incomprehensible to them. They conceived, as the prisoners reported, their enemies to be armed with "thunder and lightning;" and it is indeed far more remarkable that they sustained the attack so firmly, and resisted it so long, than that they were ultimately beaten. When they first beheld Arend and me near Lattakoo, they conceived us (as the women said) to be some new sort of animals, and with that belief had attempted to surround and catch us. That they absolutely mistook the Griquas for *centaurs* in battle, is not indeed very probable; for though they themselves have no horses, they use, like the other Caffer tribes, the ox as a beast of burthen, and occasionally for riding; but, nevertheless, the appearance of the cavalry must have been much more terrible to them, than even they themselves were to the Bechuanas.

In the engagement at Lattakoo the Mantatees lost their two kings, or principal chiefs, who were both shot while boldly sallying out to meet the Griquas. This event contributed not a little to accelerate their retreat, and (happily for the Bechuanas) to occasion their subsequent disunion. Soon after their retreat from Lattakoo, the two principal tribes seem to have separated; one division resuming their march towards the north-east, until they were again encountered and repulsed by Makabba. They afterwards formed an amicable junction with the Morootzi tribe, whom they had formerly plundered, and according to the last accounts were *located* in their territories near Kurrechein. The other division, falling back in the direction of their native country near Hambona, dispersed and plundered in their way many tribes who had escaped them in their advance; in consequence of

which, thousands of people were reduced to extreme misery for want of food, and began to flock into the Colony all along the north-eastern frontier, to solicit protection and sustenance.

A party of about 300 men made an irruption into the Tarka Veld-Cornetcy in 1824, and carried off some cattle. They were pursued by a commando of Boors, and on being attacked by fire-arms exhibited the utmost astonishment, and abandoned the plunder without resistance. A few were taken prisoners, who, on being questioned in the Caffer language, said that they belonged to a tribe called *Kouss*, residing many days' journey to the eastward, and that their country having been overrun and plundered by a wandering nation, they were forced by famine to plunder others for their own subsistence. Their emaciated appearance bore witness to the truth of this statement, and after being admonished to beware of again entering the Colony, they were dismissed. These Kouss appear to have been one of the clans plundered by the Mantatees on their return to the southward.

The first collision of these marauding hordes with the southern Caffers appears to have taken place so early as 1822. In the latter end of that year the Amatymbæ were attacked by a wandering horde whom they called *Ficani*, and whom they then with some difficulty repulsed. The word "Ficani" in the Caffer tongue signifies, it seems, "Invaders," or "Marauders," and is therefore synonymous with the Bechuana appellation "Mantatees," according to the most general interpretation. But neither of these appellations, however well merited, are recognised by the wanderers themselves. In 1824, the Ficani (apparently the Mantatees on their return from the Bechuana country) renewed their incursions upon the Caffer tribes, as appears from the following extract of a letter written from the Chumi, by the missionary Brownlee, and dated in July 1824.

"We have had late accounts of the re-advance of the *Ficani*, who made

the attack upon the Tambookies about a year and a half ago. They have recently attacked a tribe called Amaponda, who live on the coast to the eastward of the Tambookies. That tribe they have dispersed and plundered of their cattle, and numbers of the fugitives have taken refuge among the Tambookies and Hinza's people. We have likewise had visits from fugitives of another tribe, who call themselves *Amazizi*, and who say that their native country lies upon a river of the same name. From the accounts they give of it, it must lie, I imagine, towards the interior from Delagoa Bay, and they appear, in some respects, more nearly related to the Bechuanas than the Caffers; yet they speak of the people who live below them on the Amazizi River, as speaking the Caffer tongue."

This Amazizi river is, in all probability, either the Mapoota, or one of its principal branches flowing through elevated plains similar to those near the sources of the river *Kei*.*

* The following extract of a letter from Captain Owen, of the Leven, engaged at the time I received it in surveying the coast near Delagoa Bay, will throw some farther light on the country here referred to. I trust that a work from that distinguished officer himself will, ere long, render the eastern coasts of Africa, and their various inhabitants, as well known as those of the Cape are now.

"The Mapoota River extends from the southern corner of Delagoa Bay (where it empties itself), south-west, about eighty or ninety miles, and takes its rise about lat. 27° S. long. 31° E. in a range of hills in the country of the Vatwahs, or Butuas, (*Zoolas.*) English River is the estuary of three rivers, none of them extending far:—the northern one about twenty miles to the N. W.; the central one, or Dundas River, about as much due West; and the southern one about sixty miles S.S.W. The hills in the country of the Vatwahs appear to be from fifteen to twenty leagues beyond English River, lat. 26° S. 32½° E. The King George, or Maneess, falls into Delagoa Bay almost three or four leagues N. of English River, and its source is in about 20° S., its direction being nearly due north from its mouth.

"The language of Delagoa Bay appears to be nearly the same as that spoken on the east coast as far as Bazaneto Islands. The Caffers and they understand each other with little trouble; but whether the language is the same, I know not. The Vatwahs are a different

The Rev. Mr. Thomson, another missionary in Cafferland, in a letter dated July 3, 1824, not only corroborates Mr. Brownlee's report of the Amazizi refugees, but adds the following particulars, which prove, among other things, that they are unquestionably a Caffer tribe.

"I had a conversation with one of the nation which attacked Lattakoo last year, and collected the following facts from the interview. It is several years since they were driven out of their own country. This man came early last summer into Cafferland. His nation call themselves *Amazizi*, and their enemies call them *Ba-ficani*. They take their name from a river in their native country, which is very large; he says the Keiskamma is but a stream compared to it. There are several other rivers, some of which are dry in summer: there are also several lakes. The water is in general good, though there is much that is brackish. The country is generally flat, and there are no very high mountains. The summer is like that of Cafferland as to heat; and in winter they have frost and snow. He describes it to be much more populous than that of the Caffers and Tambookies. There is very little wood in the country; their houses are formed of reeds and small wood, brought from a great distance; their fires are made of cow-dung and the stalks of corn. The houses are neatly constructed; the kraals for cattle are formed of clay and dung, as also their garden fences. They abound in cattle,

people, and speak a different dialect; but still they communicate readily with those of Delagoa Bay; the former resemble the southern Caffers.

"The natives of Mapoota trade to the interior; and the country of the Wankeets cannot be more than 250 miles W. of Delagoa Bay; but the country where Dr. Cowan was murdered, is said, on the coast, to have been near the sources of the King George and Sofala rivers.

"The natives of Delagoa Bay are a timid race, and seemingly at peace with every body, but the Vatwahs treat them like a conquered people, and have lately overrun the country. They offer no objections to any one passing through their country.

"There is no European station in Delagoa Bay, but that of the Portuguese at English River, on the northern bank near its mouth."

sheep, goats, and fowls, but have no horses, nor did they know of them until they saw them in Hinza's country. This man was not himself at Lattakoo, and never had heard of white men in his own country. He says his countrymen understood smelting of iron and copper; and their smiths make hoes, assagais, axes, and needles. The men and women dig the ground with the hoes; the women cut down the corn, and the men beat it out; they do not bury it like the Caffers, but stack it above ground, and cover it with grass. The produce which they grow is Indian and Caffer corn, beans, water melons, and pumpkins. A spirituous drink they make of millet, and milk is made to acquire a greater consistency than that of the Caffers,—for he said they *eat* it. With regard to wild animals, they have wolves and jackals, and several species of antelopes; but some of the animals common in the more southern parts of Africa are unknown to them.

"They have many Chiefs, whose powers and honours are hereditary. There are few who have but one wife; adultery is punished by death. Their dead they bury in a sitting posture, in a grave about six feet deep; stones are placed about the body, and one stone on the head, and then the corpse is covered over with earth, to prevent the wolves from tearing it out.

"With regard to religion, they can say but little. This man said, he did not know that he possessed any principle within him that would exist for ever; nor does he remember to have heard his countrymen speak about it; he knew not of any place of rewards or punishments; their fathers are dead, but they know not that they shall ever see them again; he says that he had never heard of the Great Maker of all things. Excepting in some words, the Caffers understood him very well; the Caffers say *emanzie* for *water*, he says *ematenzi;* they say *sonka* for *bread*, he says *sinka;* they say *hamba* for *get you gone*, he says *kamba*.

"These unfortunate people have been long wandering about among the Mambookies and Hambonas, and many of them have latterly been allowed

to settle among the Caffers, under Hinza, who resides about three days' journey from us."

In 1825, the ravages of the Ficani upon the Caffer tribes were renewed; and by penetrating into the Tambookie country, on the north-east, they approached so near the frontier, as to excite considerable apprehensions for the safety of the Colony. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Brownlee, relating to this subject, dated at the Chumi, May 21, 1825.

"We have had lately various reports of commotions among the Tambookies, owing to a second invasion of the marauding horde called Ficani, who formerly attacked them. These invaders appeared to have advanced this time in greater force, and the conflict has been more disastrous to the Tambookies, who were surprised by them suddenly by night, and a large number of their kraals entirely deprived of their cattle. The Tambookies made a hasty attempt to retrieve their loss, but were defeated with considerable slaughter, and several of their principal Chiefs and Captains fell in the conflict. In consequence of this, part of the Tambookie tribes have abandoned their stations, and have fled nearer to the colonial frontier, where it approaches the Tarka. The invaders, it appears, came upon them through a part of the wild Bushman country, lying towards the north-east. The Ficani have for the present planted themselves in the kraals of the Tambookies, whom they have expelled. An officer with a few soldiers has passed this place to-day, towards the upper part of the river Kei, having been dispatched by Major Forbes, the Commandant, to endeavour to procure correct information respecting these invaders."

The officer alluded to by Mr. Brownlee, was Lieutenant Rogers, of the Cape Corps, who visited, on this occasion, some of the Tambookie chiefs, but could not find any safe opportunity of opening a conference with the marauding horde. The information he obtained from the Tambookies respecting them, coincided exactly with that obtained through a different

channel by Mr. Pringle, as detailed in the following extract of a letter addressed by him to me in May 1825, from the location of his party on Bavian's River.

" The various alarming rumours of the approach of your old acquaintance, the roving Mantatees, towards this frontier, have recently induced us to adopt some precautionary measures to prevent our little location from being surprised and overwhelmed by any sudden incursion of these savages; and, in order to obtain correct intelligence, my friends Mr. G. Rennie and Diedrik Muller* made, at my suggestion, an excursion into the Tambookie country a few days ago, and visited some of their kraals a little beyond the river Zwart Kei. They had a long conversation with two of the secondary chiefs, named Quassa and Pewana; who informed them that the invading horde, called Ficani, had been roaming about for a considerable time in their vicinity, accompanied by their women and children; and that about two months ago they had defeated the combined forces of the Tambookies and the Caffer chief Hinza, with great loss, six of their principal captains, and a great number of warriors, having fallen in the engagement. This conflict took place near a mountain called Hanglip by the colonists, which is not above two days' journey from this place. The Tambookies say, that the head quarters of the Ficani are now on the river Somo, one of the branches of the White Kei; but that they frequently send out foraging parties to

* By recent letters from the Cape, I am informed that these two enterprising men were (with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor) about to set out on an excursion to explore the country towards Delagoa Bay, by the way of Hambona, Natal, Zoola, (the residence of King Chaka,) &c. and that Vosani, the principal Tambooki chief, had agreed to accompany them. Mr. Rennie is a settler of Mr. Pringle's party, and a relative, it seems, of the distinguished engineer of that name. Diedrik Muller is an untutored African boor—but withal, a fine intrepid fellow, and one of the most adventurous hunters in Africa. I have little doubt that they will succeed in their enterprise (for there are no obstacles in their way which courage and caution may not surmount); and I trust that many beneficial results may arise from it.

plunder the kraals of the inhabitants, sometimes openly by day, sometimes under covert of night; and that they not only carry off their corn and cattle, but cruelly massacre all who fall into their hands without distinction of sex or age. They describe them as being armed partly with clubs and assagais like the Caffers, and partly with battle-axes, and with a hooked weapon fixed to a short handle, similar to the arms used by the Mantatees at Lattakoo. They added, that these invaders make their attack with exceeding boldness and fury, rushing on to close combat through the showers of assagais with which their own warriors encountered them; and that they are so swift of foot, and so formidable from their numbers and ferocity, that the Caffer tribes are unable to stand their ground against them. Quassa and Pewana had lost many of their own followers, and a large portion of their cattle, and had been obliged to abandon their kraals and corn-fields to the eastward. They pointed out many of their followers who had been severely mangled in the late battle, and whose wounds were not yet healed; and they added, that unless they obtained aid from the Colony, they must on the first advance of the enemy fly across the frontier line, and seek protection beneath the guns of the Christians.

"Being questioned respecting the supposed origin, or native country of these savages, they said they were informed by fugitives, that this horde had emigrated from a country lying considerably to the north-east; and that they had been driven from their own territory by a stronger nation, among whom were people of the colour of Hottentots, and with large beards and long hair."

From the above account, which was fully corroborated by Lieutenant Rogers's report to the commandant, it appears that this horde of ravagers had been within little more than two days' march of the Colony; nor was there any obstacle, on their first advance, to prevent them from overwhelming the Scotch location, and other frontier settlements. Fortunately, however,

they contented themselves, at that time, with the plunder of the Tambookie kraals, and soon after retired again to the eastward.

During the present year, (1826,) there have been various rumours of their return, but from the measures now taken by the Colonial Government to watch their motions, there is no longer any reason for apprehension of their being permitted to pass the frontier line. All applications from the Tambookies for aid against them, have been for the present refused. The Caffer tribes must therefore fight bravely for their own existence, or perish like those which have already been overwhelmed by the devastators. Were it not for their internal divisions and jealousy of each other, I should be led to anticipate, from the manly and warlike character of the frontier clans, a far more energetic resistance to the invaders, than they encountered from the mass of the faint-hearted Bechuanas.

The extent of the misery and destruction occasioned among the Caffer tribes, by the dispossession and subsequent devastations of the Mantatee hordes, it is impossible accurately to estimate; but at the most moderate calculation it is believed, that not fewer than 100,000 people have perished by war and famine. Within the last two years upwards of 1000 fugitives, mostly in a state of extreme destitution, have taken refuge in the Colony,—a circumstance wholly unprecedented in any former period. These refugees have been, by the direction of the Home Government, indentured as servants for seven years to such of the Colonists in the eastern districts as are not slave owners; and precautions have been adopted, (efficient ones, I trust,) to prevent any of those poor exiles from being ill-treated, or from hereafter merging into a state of slavery.

PART II.

EXCURSION TO THE COUNTRY OF THE BUSHMEN, KORANNAS, AND NAMAQUAS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

JOURNEY TO THE ROGGEVELD.—COLONISTS OF THE NORTHERN FRONTIER.—WARS WITH THE BUSHMEN.—BAND OF CAFFER EMIGRANTS.—SERPENT-CHARMERS.—ORIGIN OF BUSHMAN ANIMOSITY.—MORE HUMANE CONDUCT OF SOME OF THE COLONISTS.

ON the 24th of July 1824, I again left Cape Town, with the view of exploring the desert country towards the banks of the Gariep or Orange River, and of ascertaining, by personal inspection, whether the lower part of that river was capable of affording any facilities for commercial intercourse with the interior tribes.

This quarter of Southern Africa had not hitherto been visited by any European travellers, except the Rev. Mr. Campbell; and his publication, entirely devoted to Missionary objects, did not afford much information that could

throw light on the geographical features, or commercial resources of the country. I do not state this in order to disparage the work of that meritorious and simple-hearted philanthropist, but to show that, both my objects and my route being different from his, I was now entering upon a field almost new to Europeans, and visited only by vagabond smugglers, and a few missionaries, who had devoted their lives to propagate Christianity among the wandering tribes of those desolate regions.

Having equipped myself in the same simple mode as on my excursion to the Bechuana country, and being provided, through the favour of His Excellency the Governor, with an official order to the inhabitants of the Colony to render me every assistance that I might stand in need of, I proceeded, with horses hired from place to place, without interruption, until I reached Bloem Fonteyn, the residence of Veld-Commandant Nel, in the Roggeveld; where I proposed to make arrangements for proceeding beyond the boundary of the Colony. The line of my route from Cape Town will be found in the map.

To this point I had traversed a district of which the peculiar characteristics have been minutely described by Lichtenstein; nor did I perceive that any very peculiar changes had taken place in the circumstances or manners of the inhabitants since he visited them, twenty years ago. The boors of the Roggeveld are still, like the other frontier colonists, a frank and hospitable, but uncultivated set of men; kind to the traveller, but constantly embroiled in civil disputes with each other, and in a barbarous warfare of reciprocal aggression with the miserable Bushmen.

The Veld-Commandant, whose place I had now reached, I found to be a man of great substance as a stock farmer. The attention of the farmers in this part of the Colony is almost exclusively devoted to pasturage, for which indeed the country is chiefly adapted. Were the climate even better fitted for the cultivation of grain, it could never be an object with them to grow more than what is sufficient for their own consumption. Owing to the

very great distance from any market, corn can never be an article of sale. But, independently of this circumstance, such is the aridity of the climate, that I was told no rain of amount sufficient to make the rivers flow, had fallen during the last *five* years. The rains, scanty at all times, are equally precarious as to the period of their falling, being produced only by thunder-clouds in summer; and the country of the Bushmen extending between the Colony and the river Gariep, is still more subject to excessive droughts.

I visited, with Nel and another boor, the highest point of the neighbouring mountains, called *Uitkyk* (look-out), from which I obtained a view of the country in all directions with extraordinary clearness,—being able to see distinctly the summit of the Hex River mountains, capped with snow, at a distance of about 180 miles; while the country of the Bushmen, intersected only by dry beds of torrents, extended below me far to the north. From this summit I fixed the bearings by compass of several remarkable points in the mountains of Bokkeveld, Cedar-berg, Hantam, and Nieuwveld, which have been erroneously laid down in former maps.

I spent the day in conversing with my host, and another farmer named Vlok, a frank, talkative fellow, who had accompanied me hither from his own place; and I obtained from these men much interesting information respecting their own mode of life, and the condition of the native tribes beyond them. In the evening we were entertained by a Bushwoman, in the service of Nel, playing on the *Raamakie*,—an instrument about forty inches long by five broad, and having the half of a calabash affixed to the one end, with strings somewhat resembling those of a violin. With this instrument she produced a dull monotonous thrumming, in which my ear was unable to trace any thing like regular melody. The commandant informed me, that this woman had lived in his household from her infancy, and that a better or more trustworthy creature he had never had in his service. He remarked, that Bushmen in general, when taken young, make good

and active servants; but that those who have grown up in the wilds to adult age, can seldom or never be induced to remain in the service of the farmers, —having a great aversion to manual labour, and preferring sloth, liberty, and hunger, to labour, servitude, and plenty.

The Bushmen on this frontier, whatever may have been the original condition of their progenitors, are now entirely destitute of cattle or property of any description; and now that the larger game have been generally destroyed, or driven out of the country by the guns of the Boors and Griquas, they are reduced to the most wretched shifts to obtain a precarious subsistence, living chiefly on wild roots, locusts, and the larvæ of insects. The wandering hordes of this people are scattered over a territory of very wide extent, but of so barren and arid a character, that by far the greater portion of it is not permanently habitable by any class of human beings. Even as it is, the colonists are perpetually pressing in upon their limits, wherever a fountain, or even a temporary *vley* or pool of water is to be found: but had this territory been of a character less desolate and inhospitable, there can be little question that it would have been long ago entirely occupied by the Christians. They are continually soliciting from the Government fresh grants beyond the nominal boundary; and at present are very urgent to obtain possession of a tract lying between the Zak and Hartebeest Rivers. In defence of these aggressions they maintained to me that the Bushmen are a nation of robbers,—who, as they neither cultivate the soil, nor pasture cattle, are incapable of occupying their country advantageously; that they would live much more comfortably by becoming the herdsmen and household servants of the Christians, than they do at present on their own precarious resources; and finally, that they are incapable of being civilized by any other means, as the failure of the Missionary establishment among them at the Zak River had evinced. At this institution, I was told, the most strenuous exertions had been employed by the missionary Kicherer, for many years, to engraft upon them

habits of industry and foresight, but totally without avail; for he had been ultimately forced to abandon the enterprise, and the station was now in ruins.* Equally unsuccessful, Nel and Vlok informed me, had been all their own efforts to improve the wild Bushmen. On one occasion, they said, they had given to the captain of a horde a number of sheep and goats, to be kept as a joint-stock between the donors and his people; but on visiting the kraal, a short time afterwards, they found there was not one of the flock remaining, and that the Bushmen were as destitute as before.

Whatever may have been the causes of the failure of Missionary attempts to civilize the Bushmen, I fear that the usual conduct of the farmers towards them has been rather of a description to render them more barbarous and desperate, than to conciliate or civilize them. Latterly, indeed, several of the more judicious farmers had tried milder measures with them, and Nel informed me that a sort of treaty at present subsists between him and the captain of the principal horde in his vicinity. This chief waits upon Nel at every third full moon, and reports the proceedings of his clan; and if their conduct has been praiseworthy,—if they have lived humbly upon ants and bulbous roots, and refrained from stealing cattle, they receive certain allowances of sheep, tobacco, and trinkets, from the Veld-Commandant and the burghers under his control.

According to his own statements, however, a very different system had been long pursued towards this unhappy race. Nel informed me that within the last thirty years he had been upon thirty-two commandoes against the Bushmen, in which great numbers had been shot, and their children carried into the Colony. On one of these expeditions, not less than two hundred

* I have been since informed, that this is not a correct statement, and that, in fact, Mr. Kicherer did not abandon the Zak River Bushmen on account of his want of success among them, but because he was appointed by the Colonial Government to be district clergyman of Graaff-Reinet.

Bushmen were massacred! In justification of this barbarous system, he narrated many shocking stories of atrocities committed by the Bushmen upon the colonists,—which, together with the continual depredations upon their property, had often called down upon them the full weight of vengeance. Such has been, and still, to a great extent, is the horrible warfare existing between the Christians and the natives of the northern frontier, and by which the process of extermination is still proceeding against the latter, in the same style as in the days of Barrow.*

It struck me as a strange and melancholy trait of human nature, that this Veld-Commandant, in many other points a meritorious, benevolent, and clear-sighted man, seemed to be perfectly unconscious that any part of his own proceedings, or those of his countrymen, in their wars with the Bushmen, could awaken my abhorrence. The massacre of many hundreds of these miserable creatures, and the carrying away of their children into servitude, seemed to be considered by him and his companions as things perfectly lawful, just, and necessary, and as meritorious service done to the public, of which they had no more cause to be ashamed, than a brave sol-

* THE BUSHMAN.

The Bushman sleeps within his black-brow'd den,
In the lone wilderness: around him lie
His wife and little ones unfearingly—
For they are far away from "Christian men."
No herds, loud lowing, call him down the glen;
He fears no foe but famine; and may try
To wear away the hot noon slumberingly;
Then rise to search for roots—and dance again.—
But he shall dance no more! His secret lair,
Surrounded, echoes to the thundering gun,
And the wild shriek of anguish and despair!
He dies—yet, ere life's ebbing sands are run,
Leaves to his sons a curse, should they be friends
With the proud Christian race—"for they are fiends!"

T. P.

dier of having distinguished himself against the enemies of his country: while, on the other hand, he spoke with detestation of the *callousness* of the Bushmen in the commission of robbery and murder upon the Christians; not seeming to be aware that the treatment these persecuted tribes had for ages received from the Christians, might, in their apprehension, justify every excess of malice and revenge that they were able to perpetrate.

The hereditary sentiments of animosity, and the deep-rooted contemptuous prejudices, that had blinded Nel's judgment and seared his better feelings on this point, did not, however, operate to prevent him judging properly enough in a neutral case: as, for example, where two of the native tribes were opposed to each other. The way in which he mentioned the conduct of a Caffer horde in that vicinity towards the Bushmen, offered a striking illustration of this.

A small party of Caffers had found their way about fifteen years ago into the Bushman country, and had settled near the Karree mountains east of the Zak River, where there is sufficient water and pasturage. These Caffers, it seems, not content with taking possession of a valuable part of their country, waged an unjust and ferocious war with the Bushman hordes around them, of whom they destroyed great numbers, and carried off their children into bondage. Their depopulating progress was, however, arrested by the Landdrost Stockenstrom, who came suddenly upon them with a commando, shot the chief perpetrators of these enormities, and took out of their hands upwards of thirty children, whose parents they had slaughtered.

Nel and his companions spoke with detestation of the conduct of these intruders, and applauded the punishment inflicted upon them, without seeming to be aware how close a resemblance existed between their own conduct and that of the Caffers.

This horde of Caffers, learning wisdom from adversity, had ever since their chastisement ceased from strife and plunder,—and betaking themselves

to the peaceable pursuits of a pastoral people, they were, consequently, now in a thriving condition, being in possession of 1100 cattle and 2100 sheep.

Among other remarks on the Bushmen, Nel mentioned, that within the last forty years they had much improved in the manufacture of the poison with which they imbue their arrows. It is now, he affirmed, much more subtle and deadly than it was in former times, and is composed of certain deleterious ingredients, both vegetable and mineral, carefully concocted with the poison of the most venomous snakes.

He also affirmed, that among the Bushmen are found individuals called *slang-meesters* (serpent-masters) who possess the power of charming the fiercest serpents, and of readily curing their bite. These charmers, it seems, can communicate to others their powers and their invulnerability, by putting them through a regular course of poison-eating. The boors have the most implicit confidence in their medicaments, quackish and fanciful as some of them are. One of their most common applications is urine, which the colonial Hottentots also use in similar cases, mixed with gunpowder, and, as is affirmed, usually with good effect.

AUGUST 1. — Being desirous of penetrating the Bushman country to the northward, and to ascertain, if possible, the junction of the Zak, or rather the Hartebeest River, with the Gariep, I had persuaded the Veld-Commandant to send round messengers to several places, in order to procure me horses and attendants; but not being able to find a single Hottentot in this vicinity who would engage to accompany me, I found myself obliged to skirt the Colony farther towards the West, in the hope of completing my arrangements at the Hantam. This morning, therefore, I left the house of old Nel, a man who, whatever be his defects, certainly possesses the virtue of hospitality in high perfection. With all their roughness and rusticity of manner, and with all their cruel unchristian prejudices in regard to the poor

natives, these colonists still retain much patriarchal simplicity, and many traits of good-nature and friendliness in their general character. We parted with mutual good wishes.

Nel had supplied me with fresh horses and a guide. I proceeded over an elevated tract of country, from whence I occasionally caught glimpses of the Cedar mountains. The scenery was haggard and uninviting, and the climate bleak. Yet I saw occasionally warm nooks among the mountain glens, where most of the colonial fruits are brought to perfection. In the evening I reached Downes, the residence of Schalk van der Merwe, situated at the north end of the Roggeveld-Bergen, which terminate here in bluff detached hills.

I found the lady of the mansion *kraaling* her flocks and herds, her lord being absent; and soon ascertained from her, that neither horses nor guides were to be obtained here; but being informed that some free Bastard-Hottentots resided at a distance of about six miles, I set off on foot by moonlight, with the view of engaging one or two of them as guides, and of collecting information respecting my proposed route.

An old Hottentot servant of the family accompanied me. This man was between sixty and seventy years of age, and had all his life resided upon the Bushman frontier. I found him communicative, and elicited some interesting information from him. He said he could recollect the time, when few or no murders were committed by the Bushmen,—especially upon the Christians. The era of bitter and bloody hostility between them commenced, according to his account, about fifty years ago, in the following manner.—The burgher Coetzee Van Reenen had an overseer who kept his flocks near the Zak River: this fellow was of a brutal and insolent disposition, and a great tyrant over the Bushmen; and had shot some of them at times, out of mere wantonness. The Bushmen submissively endured the oppression of this petty tyrant for a long period; but at length their patience was worn out; and one day, while

he was cruelly maltreating one of their nation, another struck him through with his assagai. This act was represented in the Colony as a horrible murder. A strong commando was sent into the Bushman country, and hundreds of innocent people were massacred to avenge the death of this ruffian. Such treatment roused the animosity of the Bushmen to the utmost pitch, and eradicated all remains of respect, which they still retained for the Christians. The commando had scarcely left their country, when the whole race of Bushmen along the frontier simultaneously commenced a system of predatory and murderous incursions against the colonists, from the Kamiesberg to the Stormberg. These depredations were retaliated by fresh commandoes, who slew the old without pity, and carried off the young into bondage. The commandoes were again avenged by new robberies and murders; and thus mutual injuries have been accumulated, and mutual rancour kept up to the present day.*

* The following remarks, extracted from a letter received from Mr. Melvill of Griqua Town, dated August 3, 1825, show that some of the colonists are at length adopting a more humane policy towards this persecuted race; and the pleasing result of milder measures proves, at the same time, that the Bushman is neither insensible of kindness nor incapable of improvement:—

"In the year 1821, on my way to Griqua Town, while I was at Graaff-Reinet at the house of the Landdrost, Capt. Stockenstrom, a Veld-cornet came to request permission to make a commando against a kraal, or party of Bushmen; who, he said, had committed some depredations. The Landdrost appeared very angry with the farmer, and expressed his disapprobation, in strong terms, of the conduct of the farmers in general, when they were allowed to go against the Bushmen.

"On my way from Graaff-Reinet, I had some conversation with the Veld-Commandant, Gert Vanderwalt, who resided on the Zeekoe River, respecting the Bushmen. He told me, that both his father and himself had been for many years at war with this people. From the time that he could use a gun he went upon commandoes; but he could now see, he owned, that no good was ever done by this course of vindictive retaliation. They still continued their depredations, and, retaining an inveterate spirit of revenge, he was constantly in danger of losing his cattle and of being murdered by them. But having at length seen the evil effects of war and cruelty, he had, for a few years past, tried what might be done by cultivating peace with them; and experience had convinced him that his present plan was most conducive to his interest. He said, the Landdrost Stockenstrom was also friendly to pacific measures, and encouraged the plan he had adopted. This plan was to keep a flock of goats to supply the Bush-

On reaching the Hottentot kraal, I found that the men were all absent, and only the women and children at home, with a few cattle and sheep. I made my way, therefore, with my old guide, to the nearest boor's place, which was old Hans Coetzee's, between the Hantamberg and the Paardenberg. We found all the family asleep, and gained admittance, not without some difficulty. Nor was the accommodation very comfortable when I got in. The old boor yawned forth an apology, that he had no bread to offer me; so I obtained a glass of water and a sort of shakedown to stretch my wearied limbs on, and every other want was soon forgotten in sound repose.

men with food in seasons of great want, and occasionally to give them other little presents; by which means he not only kept on friendly terms with them, but they became very serviceable in taking care of his flocks in dry seasons. He said, that on such occasions, when there was no pasturage on his own farm, he was accustomed to give his cattle entirely into the hands of the Chief of a tribe who lived near him, and after a certain period they never failed to be brought back in so improved a condition that he scarcely knew them to be his own.

"A few days after, when I came into the Bushman country, I witnessed the beneficial effects of cultivating the arts of peace with this people. Seeing a Bushman village, or kraal, about a quarter of an hour's ride from the road, I went to it; and so confident was I of the peaceable disposition of this people, when not provoked, that I went alone and unarmed. When I came to the kraal, I was gratified with a most pleasing indication of the improved habits of the individuals composing this little horde. On the brow of a hill were seen grazing a flock of goats, and a number of young kids were tied to stakes round about their huts. Upon inquiry, I found they had belonged to the late Missionary Institution of Hephzibah, in the Bushman Country; and from what I could understand from one or two who spoke a little Dutch, they were exceedingly sorry that the mission had been given up, and said they would go again to reside at a Missionary station, if one were established. They spoke much in favour of the Veld-commandant Vanderwalt, to whom, I believe, they were indebted for the goats I had seen.

"About a day's journey farther, I came to a place called Dassen-Poort. Here a farmer had been residing, and had built a hut, and raised some wheat—but had been ordered away from it by the Landdrost, on account of its being beyond the boundaries of the Colony. I found at this place two Bushmen, under whose custody a quantity of wheat had been left by the farmer when he removed from the place—another proof that it is not so difficult to cultivate peace with these oppressed people, if measures of real kindness are adopted towards them."

CHAPTER II.

JOURNEY TO THE HANTAM.—HOTTENTOT GUIDES.—DEPARTURE FROM THE COLONY.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE BUSHMEN.—SALT LAKE.—EXCESSIVE DROUGHT.—KAT'S-KOP RIVER.

AUGUST 2.—HAVING here procured fresh horses and a guide, I sent for my saddles and baggage from the last boor's place, and started again after breakfast. I continued my journey through an arid, and apparently very barren country. On my left was the Hantamberg, an insulated mountain of great extent, being about two days' ride in circumference. The top of this mountain, which is flat, and of no very great elevation, is considered extremely salubrious for the grazing of horses at certain seasons of the year, when the periodical sickness prevails in the adjoining plains. Nor is it this destructive distemper, and the robberies of the Bushmen, that the

farmers have alone to dread in this vicinity. The wild beasts also are exceedingly fierce and numerous. At Schalk van der Merwe's, I was told that upwards of thirty horses had been destroyed upon the farm by the leopards and hyænas, in the course of the season. Another farmer had had, within a few days, nine fine young horses killed by the wild dogs.* It would require great profits to compensate for the losses and vexations to which the frontier boors are thus constantly exposed.

In a narrow defile between two mountains, called Morderaar's Poort, (Murderer's Gate,) on account of several colonists having been here killed by the Bushmen,—my guide pointed out six very large piles of stones or cairns, which had been raised, he said, by the Hottentots, to commemorate a bloody conflict that had taken place here between two tribes of their countrymen, before the Europeans came and reduced them all to bondage.

At a place called Welledag, (Karel van der Merwe's,) where I halted, I found an English settler from Clan William, a carpenter, working at his trade in the service of the farmers. Adventurous persons of this description are now to be found scattered through the remotest parts of the Colony; and are gradually introducing among the African boors, not only improvements in agriculture and in the mechanical arts, but also a spirit of civil independence, which will, ere long, supersede the servile docility, which long submission to every *fiat* of the provincial functionaries has superinduced upon the naturally sturdy and stubborn character of the Hollander.

The boor at this place mentioned to me, among other disadvantages of

* Burchell has ranked the African wild dog as a species of hyæna, under the name of *Hyæna Venatica*. Other naturalists class it as a genus. It forms, in fact, the connecting link between the wolf and hyæna tribes; and in its habits and physical conformation partakes of the character of both. Wild dogs always hunt in packs, and are exceedingly fierce and active. In some quarters of the Colony their ravages upon the flocks, and on the young horses and cattle, are very severely felt by the farmers.

the farmers in this quarter, the prevalence of a poisonous plant called jackal's-bush. This shrub, when other vegetation fails in the dry season, is apt to be browsed upon by the sheep, and frequently destroys multitudes of them. Five or six hundred will sometimes perish from this cause in a single day. If, however, they recover from the sickness caused by this plant, they are, in future, proof against its deleterious effects.

Truly these frontier boors have no very enviable life of it! Here I also learned that four slaves belonging to a neighbouring farmer (T. Trone) had just absconded, taking with them six horses and as many muskets, and had fled, as was supposed, to join the marauding banditti of runaways and Bastards who have their retreats about the banks of the Gariep. Such occurrences are not unfrequent, and add one to the many arguments for the gradual and equitable extinction of slavery in southern Africa.

Late in the evening I reached the Veld-cornet Louw's at Tee-Fonteyn, anticipating all the comforts of a social meal and a warm shelter from the cold wind and drizzling rain. My disappointment was comparatively great when I found the house locked up, and three or four slaves and Hottentots alone left in charge of the place, residing in a miserable straw hut. After some parley with them, I adopted the plan suggested by one of the slaves, of gaining admittance by force. A little supper was prepared for me, and I listened to the storm now raging without, in tranquillity and comfort. It is remarkable that the heavy rains, which come this length with the west winds from the Atlantic, do not extend farther into the interior.

3.—This morning opened gloomily. A heavy drenching rain continued the whole day, grateful to the parched country, but unfavourable to my journey. About mid-day, the owner of the place, for whom I had dispatched

a messenger, made his appearance. My apology for taking forcible possession of his house was readily received; and as he could not himself make the necessary arrangements for facilitating my journey, he accompanied me to Groote-Toren (Great Tower), the place of William Louw. Louw himself was absent at Cape Town, but his wife and family afforded me every assistance in their power; and messengers were instantly dispatched in search of a couple of Hottentots to accompany me into the Bushman Country.

While waiting for them, I had some conversation with an English settler of the name of Freyer, a man of considerable intelligence and enterprise, who had married into this family and settled here. From him I obtained some interesting information respecting this quarter of the Colony, and also the Namaqua Country, where he had been travelling. It is not a little surprising to see a man of this sort, with all the advantages of a good education, setting himself down among the rough and untutored inhabitants of these deserts. Yet the leaven of English feelings and English blood thus scattered, is doubtless a most desirable event for the improvement of the country.

At this spot formerly resided a boor of the name of Pienaar, who with his family were murdered by the Namaqua robber Africaner. Little can be said in palliation of an act of bloody violence like this; yet, from what I could learn, it seems to have been not altogether unprovoked on the part of the colonists. Adjoining to the house was a sort of clay fort, with loopholes to fire from in the event of any formidable attack of the Bushmen. Many of the farmhouses, along both the Caffer and Bushman frontier, are protected by similar defences.

4.—The rain still continuing, though more moderately, I was detained here the whole of this day much against my will; for the boors are so excessively afraid of getting wet, that none of them would ride out to enforce

the requisition for Hottentots and horses which the Veld Cornet had issued. Many of them, indeed, are afflicted with severe rheumatic complaints, which they ascribe to getting wet with rain, but which, I think, may be more justly attributed to their frequently sitting or sleeping without changing their wet clothes.

5.—This day still continued showery and cold. The females sat with Dutch stoves under their petticoats, issuing orders to their slaves and Hottentots. The men sat talking and smoking around an iron pot filled with burning charcoal. None of the boors have chimneys in their dwellings, even in these cold regions; and their stoves and pots of charcoal afford to a European a very indifferent compensation for the want of a cheerful blazing hearth.

About noon, a Hottentot named Witteboy, who had been requested to accompany me, arrived. After many interrogations about my proposed route, my objects and intentions, &c., he declared the journey too hazardous without more company, and declined proceeding without a comrade. I was thus again as much at a loss as ever, when fortunately another Hottentot (Jacob Zwart) arrived; and after smilar inquiries and much humming and hesitation, they both engaged in my service, and agreed to meet me next day, at Tee-Fonteyn, where the horses were to be prepared for us.

6.—The rain had ceased, and was followed by bright and beautiful weather. I met my Hottentots at the Veld Cornet's before mid-day; but such were the tardy movements of the boors, that the horses were not yet ready, and I was obliged to delay another night, with my patience now almost worn out.

7.—At length this morning, at an early hour, I and my two guides got on horseback, having two led horses to carry our knapsacks, and to change

occasionally with those we rode. I soon found, however, that the boors, with all their outward civility, had played me a scurvy trick, by giving me young horses scarcely half broke. The consequence was, that we had scarcely started, when the one that carried our knapsacks became restive, broke off from the man that led him, and cost us a chase of nearly an hour, before we could catch him again; and what was ultimately of far more consequence, our stock of provisions was shaken from his back, and a great part lost, and the calabashes for carrying water broken in pieces; but I was so provoked and out of patience, that I would not turn back for a further supply, but ordered my men to proceed. This was imprudent; but I had at that time no doubt that our guns would procure us game enough on our way.

About noon we reached Slinger-Fonteyn, the last place inhabited by colonists. An old German of the name of Richert, resides here in a miserable reed hut. We unsaddled and refreshed ourselves for a couple of hours, and then again proceeding, left behind us civilized man and his haunts; and once more I found myself, with a mingled feeling of awe and exultation, a traveller in the waste and solitary wilderness.*

In about an hour after passing Slinger-Fonteyn, we passed a conical hill called Spioen-Berg, (Spy-mountain,) looking over the boundless plains to the

* Mr. Pringle's poem, "Afar in the Desert," (first published in the "South African Journal," a few weeks before I set out on this journey,) expresses so well the feelings of a traveller in the wilderness, and contains such lively and appropriate sketches of African scenery, that, though somewhat long for a foot note, I gladly avail myself of the author's permission to add it to the other illustrations which he has kindly contributed to my work.

AFAR IN THE DESERT.

AFAR in the Desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side:
When the sorrows of life the soul o'ercast,
And, sick of the present, I turn to the past;

north. The first part of these plains was sprinkled over with singular piles of rocks, looking almost as if placed there by art, and assuming at

And the eye is suffused with regretful tears,
From the fond recollections of former years;
And the shadows of things that have long since fled
Flit over the brain, like the ghosts of the dead—
Bright visions of glory, that vanish'd too soon,—
Day-dreams that departed ere manhood's noon,—
Attachments by fate or by falsehood reft,—
Companions of early days lost or left,—
And my NATIVE LAND! whose magical name
Thrills to my heart like electric flame;
The home of my childhood; the haunts of my prime;
All the passions and scenes of that rapturous time,
When the feelings were young, and the world was new,
Like the fresh bowers of Paradise opening to view!—
All—all now forsaken, forgotten, or gone—
And I, a lone exile—remember'd of none—
My high aims abandon'd—and good acts undone—
Aweary of all that is under the sun,—
With that sadness of heart which no stranger may scan,
I fly to the Desert afar from man.

Afar in the Desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side:
When the wild turmoil of this wearisome life,
With its scenes of oppression, corruption, and strife;
The proud man's frown, and the base man's fear;
And the scorner's laugh, and the sufferer's tear;
And malice, and meanness, and falsehood, and folly,
Dispose me to musing and dark melancholy;
When my bosom is full, and my thoughts are high,
And my soul is sick with the bondman's sigh—
Oh, then—there is freedom, and joy, and pride,
Afar in the Desert alone to ride!
There is rapture to vault on the champing steed,
And to bound away with the eagle's speed,
With the death-fraught firelock in my hand,
(The only law of the Desert land,)

a distance the most grotesque appearances, such as those of houses, quadrupeds, birds, &c. Burchell has given a good idea of this species of scenery

But 'tis not the innocent to destroy,
For I hate the huntsman's savage joy.

Afar in the Desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side:
Away—away from the dwellings of men,
By the wild deer's haunt, and the buffalo's glen;
By vallies remote, where the oribi plays;
Where the gnoo, the gazelle, and the hartebeest graze;
And the gemsbok and eland unhunted recline
By the skirts of grey forests o'ergrown with wild vine;
And the elephant browses at peace in his wood;
And the river-horse gambols unscared in the flood;
And the mighty rhinoceros wallows at will
In the *Vley*, where the wild-ass is drinking his fill.

Afar in the Desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side:
O'er the brown Karroo, where the bleating cry
Of the springbok's fawn sounds plaintively;
Where the zebra wantonly tosses his mane,
In fields seldom freshen'd by moisture or rain;
And the stately koodoo exultingly bounds,
Undisturb'd by the bay of the hunter's hounds;
And the timorous quagha's wild whistling neigh
Is heard by the brak fountain far away;
And the fleet-footed ostrich over the waste
Speeds like a horseman who travels in haste;
And the vulture in circles wheels high overhead,
Greedy to scent and to gorge on the dead;
And the grisly wolf, and the shrieking jackal,
Howl for their prey at the evening fall;
And the fiend-like laugh of hyænas grim
Fearfully startles the twilight dim.

Afar in the Desert I love to ride,
With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side:

in his view of a natural obelisk in the Bushman country. After passing through this scenery, which reminded me of the enchanted City of the Desert, in the Arabian tales, we proceeded over immense plains, extending as far as the eye could reach, covered only with low bushes. The animals that we saw were the usual inhabitants of such regions,—ostriches, quaghas, springboks, &c. We steered N.N.E. by compass till sunset, when we

Away—away in the wilderness vast,
Where the white man's foot hath never pass'd,
And the quiver'd Koranna or Bechuan
Hath rarely cross'd with his roving clan:
A region of emptiness, howling and drear,
Which man hath abandon'd from famine and fear;
Which the snake and the lizard inhabit alone,
And the bat flitting forth from his old hollow stone;
Where grass, nor herb, nor shrub takes root,
Save poisonous thorns that pierce the foot;
And the bitter melon, for food and drink,
Is the pilgrim's fare, by the Salt Lake's brink:
A region of drought, where no river glides,
Nor rippling brook with osier'd sides;
Nor reedy pool, nor mossy fountain,
Nor shady tree, nor cloud-capp'd mountain,
Are found—to refresh the aching eye:
But the barren earth, and the burning sky,
And the blank horizon round and round,
Without a living sight or sound,
Tell to the heart, in its pensive mood,
That this is—NATURE's SOLITUDE!

And here—while the night-winds round me sigh,
And the stars burn bright in the midnight sky,
As I sit apart by the cavern'd stone,
Like Elijah at Horeb's cave alone,
And feel as a moth in the Mighty Hand
That spread the heavens and heaved the land,—
A "still small voice" comes through the wild,
(Like a father consoling his fretful child),
Which banishes bitterness, wrath, and fear—
Saying "MAN IS DISTANT, BUT GOD IS NEAR!"

turned off to the N.W. a little, in quest of a fountain, which we reached before dusk. Here we had good water, but no shelter, and scarcely materials enough to make a tolerable fire.

We had scarcely taken up our position, when we observed a light at a little distance from us. This we concluded to be some Bushman encampment, and looked that our guns were all in order, that we might be prepared for the worst. I had brought with me my double-barrelled gun, and about ten pounds of ammunition, and my Hottentots had each a musket We had just struck up a fire and begun to cook some victuals, when a party of those poor savages, consisting of about a dozen men and women, approached, and without exhibiting any signs of apprehension, came and seated themselves beside us, around our fire, and entered immediately into conversation with my guides. Though I would much rather, under present circumstances, have dispensed with their visit, yet I considered it best to treat them civilly, and with every appearance of confidence. They examined my dress, and evinced considerable eagerness to know what was my object in journeying through their country. After all their questions had been answered, they thought fit to entertain themselves and us with one of their *country-dances*, which they renewed at intervals, and kept up till midnight, "under the pale moon light," with great animation.

The dance consisted of stamping on the ground with great violence, wreathing their bodies, at the same time, into all manner of contortions. Their only music was a sort of groaning sound uttered by the men, with a softer monotonous moaning accompaniment by the females. They continued this dance for several hours with great vivacity and apparent enjoyment, while the perspiration flowed profusely from their bodies.

During the intervals of this dance, I took the opportunity, while they were sitting round our fire, to make one of my Hottentots put a variety of questions to some of the most intelligent of them, to ascertain whether

their language was so very deficient in compass as I had heard. The following was the result of my examination with regard to the numerals:

One, t'a; two, t'oa; three, quo.

These three sounds are the whole of their simple numerals. The others, as far as ten, are expressed by repetitions and combinations of these three words, in the following manner:

Four—to'a, t'oa.
Five—t'oa, t'oa, t'a.
Six—t'oa, t'oa, t'oa.
Seven—t'oa, t'oa, t'oa, t'a.
Eight—t'oa, t'oa, t'oa, t'oa.
Nine—t'oa, t'oa, t'oa, t'oa, t'a.
Ten—t'oa, t'oa, t'oa, t'oa, t'oa.

The exceeding want of invention and ingenuity displayed in their language is a striking evidence of the degraded state of intellect among them. The mere care of supporting existence seems to have engrossed their entire faculties. The intellectual nature has succumbed to the brutal. Yet this party is considered by the Hantam colonists as one of the most civilized of the Bushman hordes; for they are advanced a little beyond the hunter state, being in possession of a few cattle, and a flock of about 200 sheep. The captain of another kraal, who is commonly called the "Bushman Boor," also possesses a small flock. Which instances prove, however, that these people are not so entirely destitute of foresight and prudence as they are generally represented.

About midnight our visitors left us and returned quickly to their own camp, and we stretched ourselves out by the fire to sleep. I wished to prevail on the Hottentots to keep watch alternately with me, but this they strenuously objected to, urging, in the first place, that it was quite unnecessary, and in the second, that it was quite impossible,—because, as they alleged, after a hard day's journey "no man can keep himself awake." I

was, therefore, obliged, both now and throughout our journey, to trust our safety to the care of Providence, and to rise frequently in the night myself to replenish the fires with fuel. At this place (Adriaan's-Fonteyn) it was no easy matter to keep up a watch fire, there being no fuel except the dung of the wild animals frequenting the fountain.

8.—Rose at dawn of day, and turned our horses loose to graze on the dry tufted herbage, while we made our hasty breakfast. We then prosecuted our journey for about eight hours, without stopping, except to let our horses roll, an indulgence which relieves them greatly when fagged and heated. The country, as we proceeded, became more and more parched and desolate. We crossed the dry beds of various torrents, and saw on our right several beds of salt called the Brak-pans. We passed through a valley about six miles in breadth, entirely composed of naked sand, which had the appearance of being occasionally covered with water, though not a drop was to be found at present. We had not met with water during the whole day; and to augment our thirst, a strong scorching north-east wind blew full in our faces. At length, however, we reached a spot known to my guides, called the *kuil* or pit, where we found a small natural reservoir of tolerable water, but so deeply sunk between two rocks, that we with difficulty succeeded in drawing up a little of it for ourselves by means of the shell of an ostrich egg, but without the possibility of procuring a supply for our horses. Neither was there grass or any sort of forage for them in the neighbourhood. We rode on, therefore, a little farther, and then unsaddled; but our horses could not graze, on account of thirst, and we lay panting under a burning sun, without a bush or a rock to shelter us. The thermometer stood at 85° in the shade, and on being placed in the sun immediately rose to 110°. This was a mighty change, in so short a space, from the cold hills of the Roggeveld.

About two o'clock we again proceeded, directing our course somewhat more to the eastward, in order to survey an immense "salt-pan," which was

said to exist in that vicinity. The country was entirely without verdure of any description. Brown stunted bushes scattered here and there were its only covering. The soil consisted, in some parts, of a sharp gravel of decomposed schistus,—in others, of a calcareous stratum, strewed over with flints. At length, from the summit of a low ridge of hills, I beheld at my feet, and extending far to the northward, the prodigious "pan," or rather valley of salt, which I was in search of. This valley, from what I could guess, and learn from my guides, can scarcely be less than forty miles in circumference. It was now covered with fine dry salt of a brilliant whiteness. When the occasional torrents of rain fall, it must be one vast sheet of water: and there can be no question, I apprehend, that this, and similar collections of salt in South Africa, are occasioned by the sudden and heavy rains washing off from the surface of the adjoining country the innumerable saline particles, with which the earth is every where impregnated, into these natural reservoirs. I named this, the Commissioner's Salt-pan, in honour of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry now in the Colony.

I took from this spot the bearing of Spioen-berg, the summit of which appeared like a dim speck in the horizon over the extensive plains which we had crossed.

I now directed the Hottentots to steer north-east, in order to fall in with the course of the Hartebeest River, and ascertain its junction with the Gariep; after which I purposed to follow the stream of the latter towards the coast. After skirting the margin of the salt lake for some time, we turned off to the east; but had scarcely travelled an hour from its banks, when we were overtaken by twilight, and were forced to take up our bivouac on the open plain, without a bush to shelter us from the cold night wind, or a drop of water to refresh our poor horses. For ourselves we had my two holster bottles, which I had filled at the last fountain. With one of these, and a very moderate allowance of provisions, we were obliged to content ourselves;

not knowing when we should obtain a fresh supply. I named this spot Dry Station. A miserable one it was, in every respect, and scarcely afforded us even fuel to make a fire.

As soon as the night closed in, we observed a Bushman fire at no great distance. This was an object, however, that I was far from regarding with satisfaction; for my guides had taught me to entertain (perhaps unjustly) considerable apprehension of a nocturnal attack from these vindictive savages; who might, no doubt, naturally enough regard us as hostile intruders in their country. We slept, nevertheless, undisturbed by them, or by the wild beasts, till about two hours before daybreak, when we again proceeded on our journey, anxious to reach some fountain, or pool of water, as neither our horses nor ourselves could hold out long without a supply of that vital article.

9.—We passed a considerable ridge, covered with dry tufted grass, and after a ride of about three hours, a little after sunrise reached the bed of the Kat's-kop (Cat's-head) River, as my Hottentots called it; but, to our extreme disappointment, found it completely dry. We unsaddled, but our horses were so thirsty, that they refused to eat. They had not had any water since we left Adriaan's-Fonteyn, and we now began to be seriously alarmed, both on their account and our own.

Witteboy and I immediately set out on foot in opposite directions, to search the bed of the river for some pool or puddle yet unexhausted. Jacob was unwell, and unable to assist us. I proceeded about two miles up the channel without success; when, observing the fresh traces of Bushmen, I returned to our station. There I found that Witteboy had also come back unsuccessful. From the circumstance, however, of Bushmen's recent footprints being seen, we concluded that water must exist at no great distance. Witteboy again set off in search of it, and at length was so fortunate as to discover a pit, recently dug by the Bushmen, and which contained water, though of a very brackish quality. On his return with this intelligence, we

immediately proceeded thither with the horses, and with some difficulty got them down to drink from the pit by turns. On filling my two bottles to carry water to Jacob, I was so unlucky as to let one be broken by the horses, which in our circumstances was a very serious misfortune.

We now sat down to cook our dinner, and on rummaging our knapsack, found to our dismay that this was the last meal that it would supply; the greater part of its contents having been unfortunately lost, when our pack-horse ran off at starting from Tee-Fonteyn. Almost all our horses had occasioned us much trouble by their wildness and want of training, excepting one old one, which was stiff, and already beginning to look exhausted. The conduct of the Hantam boors in supplying me with such a set of animals, upon such an excursion, was certainly extremely reprehensible, and in the sequel proved not a little disastrous to us.

CHAPTER III.

FARTHER INTERVIEWS WITH THE BUSHMEN.—GAMKA RIVER.—HARTEBEEST RIVER.—MISERABLE CONDITION OF A HORDE OF KORANNAS.—SUFFERINGS FROM THIRST AND FAMINE.

We were convinced, from certain indications, that Bushmen were watching us from an adjoining height; and ere long a small party were observed approaching in an open and peaceful manner. They consisted of one old man, two women, and two children. The children appeared healthy, and in good condition, but the adults were miserable-looking creatures. The old man was exceedingly emaciated, and the skin of one of the women hung in loose folds from her sides like a piece of leather. They had come to beg tobacco, and a small piece which we gave them seemed to render them quite happy. They readily entered into conversation with my Hottentots, but could furnish no satisfactory answers to our inquiries, in regard to the existence of water in the direction in which we were travelling. These poor creatures were at this time subsisting almost exclusively upon the larvæ of ants, which they dig from the ground with a pointed stick, hardened in the fire, and loaded with a stone at the thick end. We saw many parts of the plains full

of holes which they had made in search of these insects. There are two species of ants which they chiefly feed upon—one of a black, and the other of a white colour. The latter is considered by them very palatable food, and is, from its appearance, called by the boors "Bushmen's rice." This rice has an acid, and not very unpleasant taste, but it must require a great quantity to satisfy a hungry man. In order to fill the stomach, and perhaps to correct the too great acidity * of this food, the Bushmen eat along with it the gum of the mimosa tree, which is merely a variety of gum arabic.

While we were conversing with those people I observed that the old man was without the joint of one of his little fingers. On inquiring the cause, he said that his mother, having lost all her previous offspring soon after birth, had cut off this joint to prevent the like misfortune happening to him. Such puerile superstitions seem to constitute all the religion of the Bushmen.

Having refreshed ourselves and our famished horses, we proceeded a little after mid-day. A strong north-east wind, the *sirocco* of these regions, blew full in our faces, which it parched excessively; and the frequent application of a little fat, which I had kept for the purpose, but slightly relieved me. Our way now lay over a boundless plain. On our right was the range of the Kat's-kop hills; and on our left, and in front, one of those extensive views peculiar to the vicinity of the Great River. Speaking generally of the Bushman country, between the Colony and the Gariep, it may be described as one great inclined plain, falling very gradually from the Nieuwveld ridge of mountains to the banks of that river.

About an hour after we started we fell in with a Bushman and his wife,

* The facility with which a strong and palatable acid may be obtained from certain species of ants, is not unknown in Europe. In Norway the peasants catch quantities (by placing bottles half filled with water in the ant-hills) which they afterwards boil up and make into vinegar.

returning from a hunting excursion. He had been successful, and was carrying on his back half of the carcase of a young gemsbok which he had slain with his poisoned arrows. His wife was loaded with the remainder, together with a little child which sat upon her shoulders, with its legs hanging over her bosom, and holding itself on by her matted hair. This load of provisions, and probably a hearty meal from their game as soon as it was killed, had given these people a comfortable and joyous appearance. The female appeared to me the prettiest Bushwoman I ever beheld. In spite of the prominent features of her race she might almost be called a beauty, with her dark eyes sparkling like brilliants from a happy laughing countenance, and with a set of teeth as white as the finest ivory. On questioning them about the probability of finding water on our route, the hunter, pointing to a certain part of the heavens, told us, that if we rode hard, we should find water by the time the moon stood there. This indicated a distance of not less than fifty miles. Yet it was a consolation to know that we should find water even within that distance. Rewarding our informant with a bit of tobacco, we pushed on with redoubled speed.

About sunset I ventured, on the strength of the Bushman's report, to divide, with my Hottentots, the bottle of brackish water we had brought from the pit, in the bed of the Kat's-kop River, which proved, however, very inadequate to refresh our burning thirst. Hour after hour succeeded till midnight was past, and still the moon had not reached the situation pointed out by the Bushman, while our horses were ready to sink under us at the rate we travelled. As we drew near the spot where we expected to find water, my guides, who usually kept a little ahead of me, requested me to ride in close file with them, because lions usually lay in ambush in such places, and were more apt to spring upon men when riding singly than in a clump together. We had scarcely adopted this precaution when we passed

within thirty paces of one of these formidable animals. He gazed at us for a moment, and then lay down, couchant, while we passed on as fast as possible, not without looking frequently behind, with feelings of awe and apprehension. We soon after reached the bed of the Gamka (or Lion's) River, but found it at this place, to our sorrow, entirely dry. We were all ready to sink under the exertions we had this day made, and the thirst we had endured. Jacob, in particular, who was unwell, and had suffered much from the hard riding, repeatedly told us that he could hold out no longer, but wished to lie down and die. The dread, however, of being devoured by the lions now acted on him as a spur to exertion; and Witteboy and myself, knowing that our fate depended upon our getting water, continued to urge on our horses along the course of the river, most anxiously looking out for the pool the Bushman had told us of. In this way we proceeded till two o'clock in the morning, and were almost despairing of success, when we at length discovered the promised pool,—which, though thick with mud, and defiled by the dung and urine of the wild beasts, was, nevertheless, a most grateful relief to us and our horses. We had been up since two o'clock on the preceding morning, had been on horseback above sixteen hours, and had travelled in that time a distance of fully eighty miles, the last stage of about sixty entirely without stopping. Our condition, and that of our horses, may therefore be readily imagined to have been one of great exhaustion. Extreme fatigue had, indeed, quite destroyed all appetite,—which, as we had not a morsel to eat, was no great disadvantage. Having fastened our horses to a bush, we stretched ourselves on the earth near them, being too wearied to take the trouble of kindling a fire for the short space of the night that remained, trusting that, if the lions discovered us, they would prefer the horses to ourselves.

10.—We were awakened about daybreak by the roar of a lion at a

little distance, but were not otherwise molested. The other difficulties of our situation now engrossed all my thoughts. All our horses were excessively fagged by the severe thirst and great exertions of the two preceding days. The old horse, indeed, exhibited strong symptoms of giving up altogether. Jacob seemed to be in a plight equally precarious. We had not a morsel of provisions left, nor did we know when we should get any. We had calculated on finding game in plenty, but the great drought that had long prevailed in these regions had driven almost the whole of the wild animals to other quarters. We, however, remained here till about mid-day to refresh our horses; we ourselves lying panting with empty stomachs under the scorching sun. The Hottentots named this spot, significantly enough, "*Korte pens* (empty paunch) station."

We proceeded at an easy pace along the banks of the river, which we found in many places covered with mimosas, the certain sign of a climate never subject to any great severity of cold. This plant is never found on the more elevated tracts of Southern Africa. Passed a solitary conical hill, near the junction of the Gamka with the Hartebeest River, to which, in honour of a friend, I gave the name of Ravenhill. Several beds of torrents that must occasionally pour forth considerable streams, here join the Gamka. The country in general appeared excessively dry and barren, though here and there were spots covered with withered grass. The soil was alternately sand and sharp calcareous gravel. Not a living creature was to be seen.

About sunset we crossed the channel of the Gamka, for the last time, our course now turning almost due north towards the Hartebeest River, where we hoped to find water, and probably game. We proceeded at a very lagging pace, for some of our horses were lamed by the sharp flinty road, and the old one got fairly fagged; so that we were at length reluctantly obliged to leave him. About nine o'clock, after a tedious ride of nine hours, during

which we had scarcely travelled thirty-five miles, we reached the bed of the Hartebeest River, at a place called "Camel's Mouth;" but, to our extreme chagrin, found it perfectly dry. We had no resource but to tie our horses to a tree; and, having made a fire, we stretched ourselves beside it, and sought consolation in sleep. During the night we were disturbed by the hyænas, which came within a few yards, but did not venture to attack us.

11. —At daybreak turned our horses out to graze. We found ourselves in the bed of a river, which at some seasons must contain a stream of water of great power and volume. It is, in fact, the channel through which all the waters of the northern side of the Nieuwveld pour themselves, after the great thunder-storms, or periodical deluges, into the Gariep. How precarious and unfrequent these deluges are, may be surmised from the fact, that this river had not been running for *five* years.

The banks were overhung with the umbrage of mimosa and willow-trees, and numbers of doves and pigeons were chirping and cooing among the branches. At another time I should have enjoyed such soothing sounds in a scene so lone and tranquil. At present, the pressure of hunger awoke only my regret for having neglected to bring small shot, that, by that means, I might now have procured a breakfast of turtle-doves. Famine, alas! is too powerful for poetic sentimentality.

Our first care was to search for water, and we had the great satisfaction of discovering it at no great distance, in a pit about ten feet deep, recently dug by the natives. It was very brack, indeed, but proved, nevertheless, a most grateful relief to us. To assuage the cravings of hunger, our Hottentots gathered and ate a little gum from the mimosa-trees. I also attempted to eat a small quantity, but could not swallow it.

Witteboy then went out with his gun in search of game; Jacob followed to look after the horses which had strayed to some distance in quest of pas-

ture; and stayed behind to guard the baggage. While I sat here, musing in no very comfortable mood, two Korannas suddenly made their appearance, and without hesitation came and seated themselves beside me. They were miserable-looking beings, emaciated and lank, with the withered skin hanging in folds upon their sides, while a belt bound tight round each of their bodies indicated that they were suffering, like myself, from long privation of food. I attempted to make them understand by signs that I was in want of provisions, and would gladly purchase some; but they only replied by shaking their heads, and pointing to the "girdles of famine," tied round their bellies; and I afterwards learned that they had been subsisting for many days entirely on gum.

In this situation we sat together for upwards of two hours, until at length Witteboy made his appearance, leading the old horse that we had left some miles behind the preceding night, but without any game. He immediately entered into conversation with the Korannas, but could learn from them only the details of their own miserable situation. On account of the long continued drought, the wild game had almost entirely deserted this quarter of the country; the bulbs, also, had disappeared; and they were reduced to famine. Jacob soon after returning with the horses, we saddled up about nine o'clock, and left these poor Korannas and the "Camel's Mouth," filing away in a melancholy train down the dry channel of the river. We took this path through a heavy sand, to save our horses' feet from the sharp flints which covered the banks.

After about an hour's ride, we came to a spot marked with the recent foot-prints of the natives; and, looking around us, we saw two human beings seated at a little distance under a mimosa. On approaching them, a picture of misery presented itself, such as my eyes had never before witnessed. Two Koranna women were sitting on the ground entirely naked; their eyes were fixed upon the earth, and when we addressed them, one of them muttered some words in reply, but looked not up on us. Their bodies

were wasted by famine to mere skin and bone. One of them was apparently far advanced in years. The other was rather a young woman, but a cripple. An infant lay in her naked lap, wasted like herself to a skeleton, which every now and then applied its little mouth alternately to the shrivelled breasts of its dying mother. Before them stood a wooden vessel, containing merely a few spoonfuls of muddy water. By degrees the Hottentots obtained for me an explanation of this melancholy scene. These three unfortunate beings had been thus left to perish by their relatives when famine pressed sore upon the horde, because they were helpless, and unable to provide for themselves. A pot of water had been left with them; and on this, and a little gum, they had been for a number of days eking out a miserable existence. It seemed wonderful that they had so long escaped falling a prey to the wild beasts; but it was evident that one or two days more of famine would be sufficient to release them from all their earthly sufferings.

My heart was moved with commiseration for these deserted and dying creatures, but I possessed no means of relieving them. We had looked forward with confidence to the relief of our own pressing wants on reaching the Koranna hordes upon the Gariep; but if the others were in a similar condition with those we had seen, our prospect was, indeed, a very gloomy one. Leaving with melancholy forebodings this scene of misery, we continued our journey down the bed of the river. A little farther on, we found several more Koranna women and children on the banks, in a condition not much better than those we had just left. The men belonging to the party had been absent several days in quest of game, and had left them to subsist on gum till their return. From them, of course, we could procure no assistance.

From the long want of food, I now began to feel myself so weak, that I could with difficulty maintain an upright posture on horseback. The jolting of the horse seemed as if it would shake me to pieces. It struck me that I

would try the method which I saw adopted by the famishing Korannas, and by my own Hottentots, of tying a band tightly round the body. I unloosed my cravat, and employed it for this purpose, and had no sooner done so, than I found great and immediate relief. We continued travelling in this manner, sometimes in the bed of the river, sometimes along its banks, till about two o'clock, when we found the heat so overpowering, that we unsaddled at the foot of a conical hill, and turned the horses out to graze. Witteboy and I then ascended the hill to look over the plain for game, and thinking we perceived some at a distance, we set off in pursuit, leaving Jacob in charge of the horses. I felt so weak that I threw off my coat and waistcoat, my gun being a load more than sufficient for me, and was often obliged to rest by the way. On reaching the spot where we thought we had seen the game, we could perceive no living creature; so that either the animals had fled, or our eyes had deceived us. The latter was probably the case, for the glare of light reflected from the dry and calcareous gravel in the heat of the day, was almost enough to destroy my sight, and frequently dazzled and deceived even that of the Hottentots.

After a weary trudge of about two hours, we returned with desponding hearts to Jacob; saddled up our horses, and again proceeded; having bestowed on this spot the name of "Hopeless Hill." We moved slowly on till sunset, without observing any game, or finding water. Passed the bed of a considerable branch of the Hartebeest River, which takes its rise, as my guides informed me, about 20 or 30 miles to the westward, near some large salt-pans. At eight o'clock, finding ourselves quite exhausted, though we had not travelled to-day above 25 miles, we unsaddled in the bed of the river, tied our horses to a tree, and stretched ourselves on a bank of sand. Our rest, however, was but indifferent,—disturbed by cold, hunger, thirst, and the howling of wild beasts, and by frightful dreams, produced by all these afflictions combined.

12.—At dawn of day awoke again to the full sense of our distressed condition. Witteboy and I immediately proceeded to an adjoining height to look out for game. We could see none; but observed a party of Korannas at no great distance, to whom we immediately proceeded. There were about a dozen of them, young and old; and all in the same state of destitution as those we had last seen. They were subsisting principally upon gum, and had not a morsel of any other food to give us. One of them, however, led us to a pit which they had dug in the channel of the river, where, with some difficulty, we procured each of us a draught of very brack water; which, bad as it was, somewhat relieved our thirst. Our prospects of obtaining relief were now more than ever disheartening. We had been three days entirely without any food, except a little gum, which was, perhaps, even worse than none; and for two days previous to that, we had been on very short allowance. All this time we had been travelling with very great bodily exertion. I felt myself dreadfully reduced, and as weak as an infant. My poor Hottentots looked like moving ghosts. Their gaunt, hollow cheeks, and eyes sunk in the sockets, gave them a frightful aspect. Jacob was suffering under illness as well as famine,—yet neither of the poor fellows complained much.

I now proposed to kill one of the horses to supply our urgent wants, since the prospect of shooting game had become almost hopeless, and our fruitless search for it had almost worn us out. Witteboy, however, begged earnestly that I would permit him to make another attempt with his gun. I agreed: but before he set out, it was necessary to procure water for the horses. To effect this, we were obliged to enlarge the pit, and dig a passage to it, in order to admit them one by one. We had no other implement but a tortoise-shell; and with this we at length, with great difficulty, accomplished our object. Witteboy then set off with his gun, accompanied by three or four of the Korannas, who were scarcely less anxious for his success than ourselves, —hoping to come in for a share of what he might kill. Jacob and I, mean-

while, took up our station on the top of a small hill, to watch the proceedings of the hunters. An old Koranna kept us company, from whom I obtained the following information respecting his tribe, through the interpretation of Jacob.

The Korannas inhabiting the banks of the Hartebeest River, are entirely destitute of cattle, and live precisely in the same manner as the Bushmen: that is, upon game, when they can kill any, and upon such esculent roots as the country produces; and when these resourses fail, they support life as well as they can upon ants, and gum, and the twigs of a certain bush. They kill the game, in the same manner as the Bushmen, by poisoned arrows, and by pitfalls, with a sharp stake fixed in the centre. These pits are so numerous along the banks and bed of the Hartebeest River, that it is surprising we escaped falling into some of them. At this time, the extreme drought, by destroying all vestiges of the edible bulbs over the surface of the country, had reduced these people to extreme destitution. These Korannas surpass the Bushmen generally in stature, and differ from them in language, and in some other slight particulars. But as they appear formerly to have possessed cattle, like the rest of their nation, and to have been reduced to this precarious mode of life by being plundered by some of their neighbours, their present situation exhibits the obvious process by which the Bushman race have been originally driven back from the pastoral state to that of the huntsman and robber.

CHAPTER IV.

RETURN OF WITTEBOY WITH GAME. — VORACITY OF THE HOTTENTOTS. —ARRIVAL ON THE BANKS OF THE GARIEP.—HYÆNAS AND LIONS.— JOURNEY DOWN THE RIVER. — BAND OF KORANNA HUNTSMEN.— EXCURSION TO VIEW A REMARKABLE WATERFALL.

THE tedious day wore on apace as we thus sat anxiously waiting the return of Witteboy, who, with his party, had been long hidden from our view by the undulations of the country. The old Koranna was talkative and friendly in his way, and did his best to entertain me; sometimes supplying me with a morsel of gum to stay my stomach, sometimes sending a little girl to bring us water in an ostrich egg-shell. This water, though the best they could procure, was so much impregnated with salt, that it seemed only to increase the thirst it was intended to relieve. The hot dry wind from the north-east blew witheringly upon us,—parching up the lips till they cracked, and relaxing our wasted frames to exceeding languor. I felt oppressed by a torpid lethargy, but tried in vain to escape from my cares by sleep; a horrible night-mare constantly invaded my slumbers, and soon awoke me. Jacob was still worse than myself, and seemed already almost exanimate. It was with much difficulty that I could rouse him up now and then to interpret the questions I put to the old Koranna.

Evening at length approached, and still the hunting party appeared not. The pangs of hunger pressed sore upon us, and our only relief was to draw our "girdles of famine" still tighter round our bodies. I wished much that I had provided myself with a pair of dandy stays, which, in my present circumstances, would have been invaluable. At length, just as the sun was sinking under the horizon, we descried Witteboy and his Koranna followers returning; and the sharp eyes of my comrades soon discovered that they were loaded with flesh. As they approached, this joyful news became certain. A zebra had been shot, and each was carrying a piece of it for immediate consumption. The Korannas, old and young, sprang forth to meet the huntsmen, skipping, dancing, and shouting for joy. Jacob and I, exhausted as we were, were reanimated by their jocund cries, and by the sight of so seasonable a relief, to a sense of joy and gratitude, less clamorous, but scarcely less intense than that of these half-famished savages. We had now been nearly four days without food, and but very ill supplied with bad brackish water. Had Witteboy again failed of success in hunting, we must have killed one of our horses—a resource which the Hottentots were even more unwilling than myself to resort to.

Without questioning Witteboy how or where he killed the zebra, we all commenced roasting and eating. In a short time I had picked several of his ribs. As for the Hottentots, I do not exaggerate, when I say, that each of them had devoured eight pounds of meat within an hour, and an additional allowance of three or four pounds more before they slept. The Korannas marched off in a body to the place where the zebra was shot, to feast upon the offals, and certain parts of the carcase which we had allotted them, on the condition of their keeping careful watch over the remainder until we joined them in the morning.

The sudden change in the appearance of my Hottentots this evening, after their hunger was assuaged, was remarkable. Hope and happiness again re-

animated them, and that haggard and horrid appearance which had invested their visages, began to disappear. So voracious was their appetite, that I really became apprehensive they would kill themselves by repletion: and in the middle of the night, when I awoke, I again found them eating and smoking by turns.

We made our bivouac this night upon the high bank of the river; for the Korannas had warned us not to sleep again in the channel where we lay the preceding evening; that being, as they said, literally "the lion's path." Our new lodging was but a bleak one. We could with difficulty collect firewood sufficient to warm us; our couch was the bare flinty gravel; and the night wind was so chill as to prevent us from sleeping comfortably. The moon also had deserted us, and we were disturbed all night long by the hungry hyænas howling around us.

13.—We saddled up at an early hour. Jacob, notwithstanding his ravenous appetite the preceding evening, was so weak and stiff, that he could not rise without assistance. We got him, however, on horseback, and proceeded north-east about seven miles, through a labyrinth of low rugged hills, sprinkled over with bushes of the *Wagt-een-beetje*. We found there the Korannas in charge of the remains of the zebra. The heavy incursions made upon the carcase, and the excessive protuberance of paunch now visible in these hungry guardians, evinced that they had made good use of their time and their teeth. We saved, however, the two hind-quarters and the head for our own use, and without delay tied them upon our pack-horses. The Korannas were rewarded with the remainder. Our new acquaintance, well pleased with our generosity, would gladly have persuaded us to go in pursuit of a herd of zebras which we saw at no great distance; but having now as much meat as we could conveniently carry, it was a matter of too urgent importance to get forward to the Gariep, and to prosecute the remainder of my excursion without delay, to admit of wasting our time and

strength in hunting for the natives, whose destitute condition we could not permanently relieve, even if successful.

We made the best of our way, therefore, towards the Gariep, which we reached to our great satisfaction, in about a couple of hours. After suffering so severely as we had done, from the want of water, what a glorious object did this river appear, flowing in a majestic stream, deep and rapid, and 500 yards in breadth! We hurried down to the channel, and plunged our hands and faces into the cooling waters, and at length assuaged a thirst which the briny wells of the Korannas seemed at every draught to increase. We then turned our horses out to refresh themselves on the herbage along the banks, while we employed ourselves under the shade of the willows, in cutting up our zebra flesh into thin slices, to dry in the sun. Having now abundance of meat, and a whole river of fresh water, we made a princely feast, though without either salt or sauce, or any sort of vegetable. We found the zebra flesh sweet and good; yet it never seemed somehow sufficiently to satisfy our hunger,—and we had scarcely finished one meal, before we found ourselves ready for another.

It was remarkable, that during the period of our recent sufferings from hunger and thirst, my imagination, both sleeping and awake, was continually conjuring up all manner of dainties, and delicious brooks of limpid water. Now that we had plenty of flesh, it seemed to me as if bread alone could satisfy me.

Our horses were so much knocked up by want of water, bad pasturage, and flinty roads, that they required rest and refreshment not less than ourselves. We resolved, therefore, to remain here till next day at noon.

After all our privations, it was no slight satisfaction to me, to have so far accomplished one of the objects of my journey. I had reached the banks of the Gariep by a route never taken before by any traveller, and had been enabled to add to the map of South Africa, the distinctive features of the

intermediate region, which, dreary and desolate though it be, is not without a strong interest in the eyes both of the naturalist and the philanthropist.

The Gariep must pour into the ocean a mighty volume of water at certain seasons. At this period it was at its lowest ebb, and only about 500 yards in breadth; but the numerous vestiges of its overflowings extended over each bank at least a mile from the margin of the water, and at some places to three or four times that distance. At the spot where we had reached it, and for a considerable way downwards, its course was nearly north-west. On the opposite bank a ridge of mountains runs parallel with the river. This ridge, as I have ascertained, accompanies its course from a little below Griqua Town almost to the ocean, a distance of nearly 500 miles: I have called it the Gariepine walls. At no great distance above our present station, a curious rapid is said to be formed, by the approach of this Gariepine wall to the ridge called the Duke of York's mountains. At that place the river, forcing its passage between the hills, is to a considerable extent arched over by an immense cliff, suspended between two rocks. The roar of the waters rushing through this narrow gateway, was distinctly heard by us at a distance of many miles. But during the season, when the river is swollen to its full height, the scene must be infinitely more imposing; and the immense collection of waters above the rapid, then spreading out into a noble lake, studded with islands, must be a magnificent object to the lone dwellers in the wilderness. The Gariep is subject at all times to very sudden risings, occasioned by heavy rains in the upper part of its course, and on this account the natives are cautious not to sleep too near the margin of the stream. We had ventured this evening, however, to make our bivouac even in the channel of the river, for the sake of more easy access to the water. About midnight, we were suddenly awakened by a loud roaring, "like the voice of many waters" rushing down upon us. We started up in a terrible fright, and ran to our horses, thinking the floods, with all their "water-kelpies," were come to

sweep us off to the ocean: when lo! the sound died away in distance, and was heard no more. We then concluded that it was the roar of the rapid, borne down to us by a sudden gust of wind, and ventured to return to our couch of sand, where we slept undisturbed through the rest of the night.

14.—A little before daybreak we turned out our horses to graze, being anxious to refresh them as much as possible before we again started. They had not been long at large, before we heard the hungry howl of the hyæna, and presently four of the horses came up to our fire at full gallop, as if claiming our protection. We instantly seized our guns and ran to the rescue of the remaining horse, and found him beset in a corner of the thicket by a ferocious tiger-wolf *(hyæna crocuta,)* who was attempting to break in upon him. We soon put to flight the hyæna, and brought off our poor old hack, trembling all over like an aspen.

We breakfasted this morning on the zebra's head, which we had buried the preceding night in the hot embers. We then repaired the wear and tear of our riding gear, packed up our dried meat, and got ready to start about noon, having, as we conceived, now tolerably recruited ourselves, and our steeds. I observed a variety of birds at this place, viz. herons, water-hens, wild geese, divers, three sorts of crows, several species of hawks and vultures, two species of swallows, three of pigeons, and a variety of finches and other small birds. The crows were extremely familiar, coming within a few paces of us, and picking up the bones we threw to them. The smaller birds also appeared, from their familiarity, to be very little annoyed by mankind. We observed no natives, nor any traces of them in this vicinity.

About two o'clock we left Junction Station, as I had called it, in reference to the confluence of the Hartebeest with the Gariep. The dry channel of the former river, which we soon after crossed, was here of vast

extent, manifesting the gigantic force and magnitude of this torrent of the desert when it is in flood. We found the banks of the Gariep, as we proceeded downwards, so closely beset with mimosa and willow groves and thickets, that it was extremely difficult to get access to the water. As we rode along, a herd of koodoos, which had been down to drink, bounded past us from the thicket, but too suddenly to enable us to fire with effect at them.* At these paths, made by the wild game through the jungle in resorting to drink at the rivers, the lion very frequently lies in wait, in order to spring suddenly upon his prey. Such places are, consequently, peculiarly dangerous, of which my Hottentots this evening obtained sufficient demonstration. We had unsaddled on the bank, and Witteboy and Jacob had proceeded with the horses down to the water, when a lion suddenly made a spring at one of them, but missing him walked off, (as that animal generally does in such circumstances,) without making a second attempt. The Hottentots hurried back in terror, and we lost no time in tying up the horses, and lighting a large fire to protect them and ourselves from this powerful and insidious enemy. We experienced, during the night, no farther disturbance.

15.—Continued our journey at daybreak. The views we occasionally caught of the river from the rising grounds on its banks, were very magnificent. The rich foliage of the willows along the margin, and the thickets, or rather forests of mimosa-trees, spreading for at least a mile on either side, formed a striking contrast to the parched-up plains and hills out of the influence of its periodical overflowings.

The sultry north-west wind continued to blow strong in our faces; and whirlwinds were often observed sweeping up the course of the river, car-

* The koodoo is one of the most remarkable of the South African antelopes, but now too well known to all lovers of natural history to require minute description. The horns of the male are sometimes upwards of four feet in length; yet he is a lover of the thorny brakes on the river banks: the female is destitute of horns. The figures of this animal, and the springbok, in the accompanying plate, are accurately engraved.

rying the loose sand and withered wrack of the banks along with great violence. We continued looking out very anxiously for the natives, and felt not a little surprised that we had yet met with none. We saw many of the pitfalls dug by them for ensnaring the larger game, and sometimes with difficulty avoided falling into them. The thorny mazes of the banks, and the rugged nature of the adjacent country, alike impeded us. All our horses still exhibited symptoms of great exhaustion, and some of them had become quite lame by wounding their feet in the stony paths. We proceeded, therefore, but slowly.

We had now advanced about fifty miles down the river without having met a single native; and knowing that its banks are far more densely inhabited than any other part of the Bushman or Koranna country, and observing also, many of their dwellings recently deserted, we could not account for the apparent abandonment of this favourite region by its inhabitants. At length, in the course of this forenoon, as we were crossing a deep recess close to the margin of the river, we came suddenly upon a party of about thirty Korannas, seated under the shade of the wood. Our first sensation was that of lively pleasure at regaining the society of a peaceful and friendly race of men, (for our journey from the Colony had been but a dreary one;) but our joy was suddenly checked, by seeing the Korannas, the instant they observed us, start on their feet, and fly to their arms; and I expected the next moment a shower of poisoned arrows to be poured in upon us. But Witteboy, with great presence of mind, threw himself from horseback, flung down his gun, and ran towards them with extended arms—calling out in their own dialect, that we were friends. This instantly brought them to a parley, and we soon shook hands together with mutual satisfaction. We now learned that the cause of their alarm at our appearance was the conduct of the Namaqua robber Africaner, who, with a strong party of runaway slaves and bastaards, keeps the whole of the adjoining tribes in terror, and has already reduced the greater part of them to destitution, by plundering them of their flocks

and herds. On first seeing us, this party took us for some of Africaner's band, and had determined to resist to the uttermost. Their kraal, with the cattle, women, and children, was on the opposite side of the river, so that we could neither procure milk nor any other refreshment from them. They had crossed the river merely for the sake of hunting.

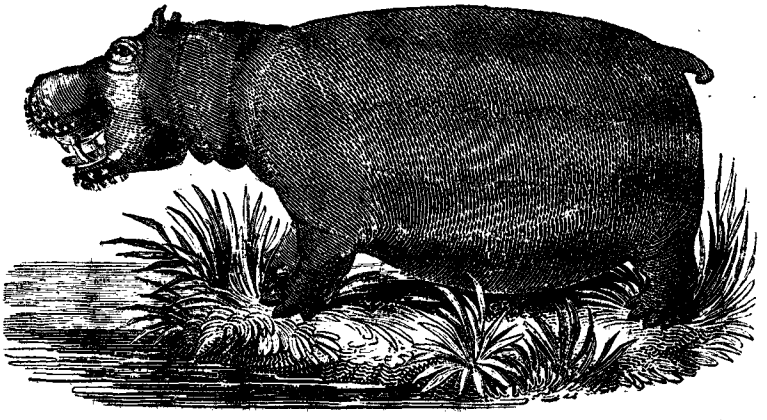
As soon as we came to a friendly understanding with these people, I made inquiries respecting a great cataract which I had been informed existed in this vicinity. To my high satisfaction, I soon ascertained that it was not above seven or eight miles down the river; and as mid-day was scarcely passed, I determined to visit it immediately, and return to the Koranna camp to spend the night. Leaving our two weakest horses, therefore, I set out with Witteboy and five of the Korannas whom I engaged to accompany us on foot. As we approached the fall the sound began to rise upon our ears like distant thunder. It was still, however, a work of some exertion to reach the spot, from which we were divided by a part of the river, and beyond that by a tract of wild woodland, several miles in extent. The main and middle branch of the Gariep, which forms the cataract, traverses a sort of island of large extent, covered with rocks and thickets, and environed on all sides by streams of water. Having crossed the southern branch, which at this season is but an inconsiderable creek, we continued to follow the Korannas for several miles through the dense acacia forests, while the thundering sound of the cataract increased at every step. At length we reached a ridge of rocks, and found it necessary to dismount and follow our guides on foot. It seemed as we were now entering the untrodden vestibule of one of Nature's most sublime temples, and the untutored savages who guided us, evinced by the awe and circumspection with which they trod, that they were not altogether uninfluenced by the *genius loci*. They repeatedly requested me to keep behind, and follow them softly, for the precipices were dangerous for the feet of men,—and the sight and sound of the cataract were so fearful, that they themselves regarded the place with awe, and ventured but seldom to visit it.

At length the whole of them halted, and desired me to do the same. One of them stepped forward to the brink of the precipice, and having looked cautiously over, beckoned me to advance. I did so, and witnessed a curious and striking scene; but it was not yet the waterfall. It was a rapid formed by almost the whole volume of the river, compressed into a narrow channel of not more than fifty yards in breadth, whence it descended at an angle of nearly 45°, and rushing tumultuously through a black and crooked chasm, among the rocks, of frightful depth, escaped in a torrent of foam. My swarthy guides, although this was unquestionably the first time that they had ever led a traveller to view the remarkable scenery of their country, evinced a degree of tact as *Ciceroni*, as well as natural feeling of the picturesque, that equally pleased and surprised me. Having forewarned me that this was not yet the waterfall, they now pioneered the way for about a mile farther along the rocks, some of them keeping near, and continually cautioning me to look to my feet, as a single false step might precipitate me into the raging abyss of waters,—the tumult of which seemed to shake even the solid rocks around us. At length we halted as before, and the next moment I was led to a projecting rock, where a scene burst upon me, far surpassing my most sanguine expectations. The whole water of the river (except what escapes by the subsidiary channel we had crossed, and by a similar one on the north side,) being previously confined to a bed of scarcely one hundred feet in breadth, descends at once in a magnificent cascade of fully four hundred feet in height. I stood upon a cliff nearly level with the top of the fall, and directly in front of it. The beams of the evening sun fell full upon the cascade, and occasioned a most splendid rainbow; while the vapoury mists arising from the broken waters, the bright green woods which hung from the surrounding cliffs, the astounding roar of the waterfall, and the tumultuous boiling and whirling of the stream below, striving to escape along its deep, dark, and narrow path, formed altogether a combination of beauty and grandeur, such as I never before witnessed. As I gazed on this stupendous scene, I felt as if in a dream.

The sublimity of Nature drowned all apprehensions of danger; and after a short pause, I hastily left the spot where I stood, to gain a nearer view from a cliff that more immediately impended over the foaming gulf. I had just reached this station, when I felt myself grasped all at once by four Korannas, who simultaneously seized hold of me by the arms and legs. My first impression was, that they were going to hurl me over the precipice; but it was a momentary thought, and it wronged the friendly savages. They are themselves a timid race; and they were alarmed, lest my temerity should lead me into danger. They hurried me back from the brink, and then explained their motive, and asked my forgiveness. I was not ungrateful for their care, though somewhat annoyed by their officiousness. I returned to my station to take a sketch of the scene, but my attempt was far too hurried, and too unworthy of its object, to please myself, or to be presented to the reader. The character of the whole of the surrounding scenery, full of rocks, caverns, and pathless woods, and the desolate aspect of the Gariepine mountains beyond, accorded well with the wild grandeur of the waterfall, and impressed me with feelings never to be effaced.

The river, after pouring itself out in this beautiful cascade, rushes along in a narrow chasm or canal, of about two miles in length, and nearly five hundred feet in depth, apparently worn in the solid rock, in the course of ages, by the force of the current.

In the summer season, when the river is in flood, the fall must be infinitely more magnificent; but it is probably, at that season, altogether inaccessible; for it is evident, that the mass of waters, unable to escape by this passage, then pour themselves out in mighty streams by the two subsidiary channels, which were now almost dry, and at the same time overflow nearly the entire tract of forest land between them,—which forms, at other seasons, a sort of island, as we now found it. I named this scene "King George's Cataract," in honour of our gracious Sovereign.



CHAPTER V.

THE HIPPOPOTAMUS. — OBSTACLES TO CULTIVATION. — NATIVE MODE OF CROSSING THE RIVER.—CUSTOMS, CHARACTER, AND CONDITION OF THE KORANNA TRIBES.

THE approach of evening, and the importunities of the Korannas, at length drew me reluctantly from the impressive scene I have vainly attempted to describe. We hastened back to their encampment, and I and my attendants fixed our bivouac for the night under an aged willow-tree, upon the very brink of the river.

In conversing about the waterfall, the Korannas mentioned that a hippopotamus had been killed by falling over it a short time before. But such an accident, they observed, seldom occurs, as the instinct of these animals leads them to avoid being carried by the current too near the rapid and rocky channels, and they usually pass such places by taking a circuitous course

along the banks. The hippopotami are numerous in many parts of this river, and are occasionally caught by the natives, by means of huge pitfalls dug in the paths frequented by them, when they issue from the floods by night, to browse on the wooded banks. The capture of one of those enormous animals must be an event of jubilee and rejoicing to a whole horde of half-starved Bushmen or Korannas, sufficient to banish hunger and heaviness for weeks to come. The hippopotamus, though timid on shore, is sometimes a dangerous antagonist in the water. In the pairing season, especially, the natives dread much to encounter him in crossing the river. Mr. Moffat informed me, that once when he was passing Read's Drift, a Hottentot of his party was bit in two by one of those monstrous animals.* I learned from these people, that the Kuruman River, which rises in the Bechuana country, joins the Gariep a little below King George's Cataract; but that in the lower part of its course it is often dry for years together, like the Hartebeest torrent, on the southern side.

Being now somewhat tired of zebra's flesh, I endeavoured to obtain a little variety by bartering some of it with the Korannas for a piece of dried gemsbok; but the exchange was far from improving our fare,—the gemsbok was so tough that I preferred the zebra. Jacob, who had now sufficiently recovered his strength and spirits to crack a joke, observed, that if we lived much longer in this way, eating zebra to zebra, we should in time grow *striped*. This was considered good wit by the *beau monde* of the Gariepine banks. Witteboy and the Korannas laughed heartily at Jacob's *jeu d'esprit*, nor was I so fastidious as to refuse joining in their simple merriment.

16.—This morning was ushered in by the signs of an approaching thunder-storm. On this account, and also further to recruit our horses, we resolv-

* The figure in the vignette is copied from a drawing of a young hippopotamus, sketched upon another occasion.

ed to spend another day with the Korannas. Like them, we took refuge from the coming tempest, and the deluge of rain which we expected with it, under the thickest foliage of the large willow-trees. A few days before, on the Hartebeest River, we should have been most grateful for a hearty drenching; now we rejoiced when a change of wind carried off the lowering clouds in a different direction, to refresh, probably, some distant spot of the thirsty wilderness.

At noon I bathed in the river, and found myself greatly refreshed by it. On examining the banks, I observed with regret, the impracticability of leading out the water for irrigating the adjoining lands by dams and ditches,—the usual and only method of cultivating the soil in the interior of Southern Africa. The great elevation of the banks above the ordinary channel of the stream, along the whole course of the Gariep, so far as I have surveyed it, seems to preclude all prospect of success in any scheme of this sort, upon the plan commonly practised; but whether advantage might not be taken of its natural overflowings to effect in some measure the same object, or whether some simple machinery, similar to the Egyptian wheel, might not be here successfully employed in irrigation, I do not feel competent to decide. It is a problem, in all appearance, not likely soon to be solved.*

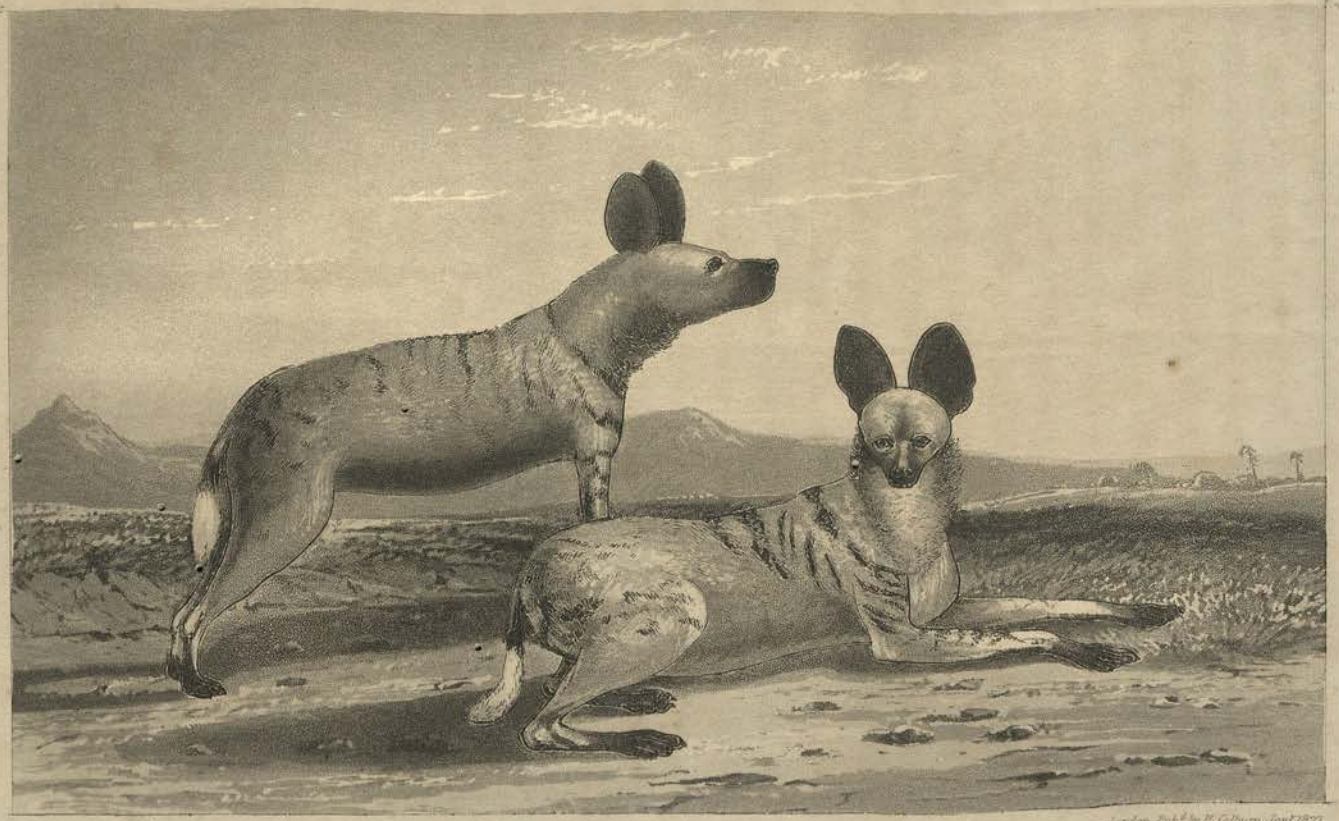
In the course of the day I prevailed upon some of the Korannas, by a small present, to swim across the river, in order to bring me a supply of milk from their kraal. They returned in the evening with a wooden vessel filled with sour milk, which I divided with my Hottentots, and after our tasteless fare of dried zebra-flesh, we considered it a very delicious treat.

* The inhabitants of Griqua Town, under the direction of the Missionaries, have, however, I understand, lately undertaken to lead out the waters of the Gariep for irrigation in the ordinary manner near their chief settlement. Not having seen the spot fixed upon, I can form no opinion in regard to its practicability: but the attempt is at all events highly creditable to their enterprise.

None of the tribes of Southern Africa, either in the interior, or on the coast, have any thing in the shape of a canoe or boat. The method they adopt for passing a large river, and which I now saw practised, is very simple. Each man has a beam of wood with a peg at one end: grasping the peg with one hand, he sits astride, or lays himself flat upon his log, and paddles himself against the stream with his feet and other hand. This is a very inartificial contrivance, but it seems sufficient for every purpose required by these indolent children of nature.

During the course of the day I had much conversation with some of the most intelligent of the party with whom we were now associated, Witteboy and Jacob acting as interpreters. The following is a brief epitome of the information I obtained on this and other occasions, respecting the Koranna tribe or nation.

The Korannas are a race of pure Hottentots, who have attached themselves to the vicinage of the Great River, and from whose principal branches they seldom or never emigrate to any considerable distance. They are found along the whole course of the river, from the spot where I now was, upwards towards its sources, as far as it has yet been explored by Europeans. They are divided into a great number of independent clans, or *kraals*, as they are termed in the Colonial phraseology. The party I was now with enumerated above thirty of these, who, in their own language, are distinguished by different appellations, indicative of some peculiarity in the materials of their dress, or mode of subsistence. A chief or captain presides over each clan or kraal, being usually the person of greatest property; but his authority is extremely limited, and only obeyed so far as it meets the general approbation. When ancient usages are not in the way, every man seems to act as is right in his own eyes. They are a pastoral people, and some of their kraals possess large herds of cattle, and also some sheep and goats. Their flocks of the latter, however, are not numerous, though they thrive remarkably well, and attain



G. Thompson Esqr. del.

London. Publd by H. Colburn. Jan.y 1827.

WILD DOGS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

a large size. The difficulty of protecting them from the wild animals,* and of driving them from place to place in their frequent migrations, probably operates to prevent them from augmenting their flocks to any considerable amount. Many kraals possess neither sheep nor goats, but only cattle; and some few, as we have seen, having lost their cattle, have retrograded from the pastoral to the hunter, or Bushman state.

The Korannas are continually roaming from place to place, according as the want of pasturage, or caprice, may dictate; and their moveable huts, composed of a few sticks, and a covering of mats, are carried along with them on their pack-oxen, which are uncommonly docile and well-trained.

Their language differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, but nearly resembles the dialects of the colonial Hottentots and the Namaquas. My guides, therefore, understood them with ease, while they could only understand such of the Bushmen fully as had been accustomed to visit the Colony. Their dress consists merely of the carosse, with an apron of skins for the females, and a sort of pouch used by the men, which last but indifferently serves the purposes of decency. This is indeed the original dress of all the Hottentot tribes, and has been described with sufficient minuteness by former travellers.

In personal appearance, the Korannas are superior to any other race of Hottentots. Many of them are tall, with finely shaped heads, and prominent features, and an air of ease and good-humour about them which is very prepossessing. They are, in fact, a mild, indolent, and unenterprising race, friendly to strangers, and inclined to cultivate peace with all the tribes around them, except the Bushmen,—towards whom they bear inveterate

* The most destructive of the beasts of prey to sheep and goats are the Wild Dogs, (already mentioned at page 229,) numbers of which infest the banks of the Gariep, and plague the poor Korannas, not less than the Border boors. The annexed engraving gives a very accurate representation of these curious animals.

animosity, on account of their continual depredations on their flocks and herds. Their wars with the Bushmen are said to be prosecuted with such rancour, that quarter is seldom given on either side, either to old or young. The weapons of both these tribes are similar,—only those of the Korannas are superior in size and workmanship, and their poisoned arrows are occasionally feathered.

Their only manufacture, besides their mats, arms, and dress, consists of some coarse earthenware, and a few wooden vessels carved with much labour out of solid blocks of wood. Their knives and hatchets are purchased either from the Bechuanas or the Boors, for they do not work in iron.

The Koranna women have seldom more than four or five children. If they happen to have twins, (an event which rarely occurs,) one of them is destroyed in the same manner as with the Bushmen.

The disgusting marriage ceremony which Kolben says was practised among the colonial Hottentots in former times, has no existence among the Korannas; but a sort of aspersion with "holy water," such as he describes, is said actually to take place when the young men attain the age of puberty, and this custom probably gave rise to Kolben's story. The only marriage ceremony among the Korannas, that I could hear of, consists of a feast given by the bridegroom, and by the relatives of the bride, to all the kraal, if their wealth is sufficient to admit of it. They are fond of festivity, though rather averse to slaughter their cattle, except on great occasions; living usually on the milk alone, with the aid of wild roots, and the game they kill in hunting. They are fond of singing and dancing by moonlight, and of amusing each other by relating fictitious adventures around their evening fires. Like all the other South African tribes, the Korannas possess the art of making a very intoxicating sort of mead or hydromel, by fermenting it with the juice of a certain root, of which, however, I was unable to procure any specimen. Some of the colonial Hottentots possess this secret, and frequently sell por-

tions of the fermenting substance to the farmers for a large allowance of spirits or tobacco. The Gariepine tribes do not, however, appear to have the means of frequently indulging to excess in this inebriating beverage.

The Korannas are very subject to consumption, (as, indeed, are all the Hottentot tribes,) and more particularly to a disease called the blood-fever, which carries off great numbers of them. This distemper is thought by some to be owing to their frequent and sudden immersions in their favourite river, when they return profusely perspiring from the chase. By others it is ascribed to the unwholesome qualities of the water at certain seasons. It generally breaks outwardly in boils in some parts of the body, and, in this case, they make an incision round the part, and apply, with success, the gall and fat of some animals. But if it breaks inwardly, there is no remedy, and the patient dies. This fever is confined to the banks of the Gariep, and rages with the greatest virulence in the months of February and March. For cuts and bruises they use the leaves of the buku, and one or two other plants, with good effect.

They have no religious ceremonies, and but very faint ideas of any state of futurity. Some of them say, that they had a tradition from their forefathers, that after death the spirits of men ascended, through a narrow gate in the clouds, into another world, where they existed after death, but that few put any faith in this tradition. But all allowed, that until the missionaries came among them, they had no clear idea of a supreme God, nor of a state of future rewards or punishments.

They are much addicted to a mischievous sort of witchcraft, or sorcery, somewhat similar to that of the Caffer tribes, by means of which they often grievously torment each other; and sometimes, as it is said, resort to worse than imaginary charms, and deal in philtres and poisons.

Their method of interment is the same as that peculiar to the other Hottentot tribes,—with the exception, perhaps, of the Bushmen. They first dig a grave in the usual form, and then excavate a recess in the one side of it,

into which the corpse is introduced, wrapped in the carosse which the individual wore when living. The vacancy is then filled up with large stones and earth, to protect the body from the hyænas.

The Koranna clans, on the upper part of the Gariep and its branches, are all in amity or alliance with the Griquas, with whom they combine against the Bushmen, who are regarded as the Ishmaelites of Southern Africa. Through this connexion some of them have become possessed of fire arms. Some clans, also, are in strict alliance with the Matclhapee tribe of Bechuanas, and have frequent intermarriages with them. Those lower down the river have, of late years, suffered very severely from the depredations of the robber Africaner, and other banditti who now swarm along the banks of the Gariep, and many kraals have been entirely deprived of their cattle. In this condition they are more destitute even than the Bushmen themselves; for though the poorer class of Korannas are accustomed at all times to live partly by hunting, and on insects and wild roots, they seem to have less ingenuity and perseverance in the pursuit of those precarious means of subsistence, than the crafty and enterprising sons of the desert, who depend on no other resources; and they are, consequently, reduced, in seasons of scarcity, to the extremity of misery, as has already been shown in the description of those whom we found on the Hartebeest River. It must, however, be allowed, that in the digging of pitfalls for the Hippopotami, and other large animals, the Korannas display a degree of industry and perseverance, (considering their implements,) not less remarkable than the Bushmen, and little to be expected from the general indolence of their disposition.

CHAPTER VI.

DEPARTURE FROM WATERFALL STATION.—SUFFERINGS FROM HEAT, THIRST, AND HUNGER.—BUSHMAN VENGEANCE.—PELLA.—DESPAIR OF THE HOTTENTOTS.—NAMAQUA ENCAMPMENT.

AUG. 17.—At sunrise, when we prepared to proceed on our journey, we found our old horse reduced by the purgative effects of the bad water he had drunk in the Bushman country, to the last degree of exhaustion. He was quite incapable of accompanying us, and we were consequently forced to abandon him to his fate. He was now too miserable an object even to be food to the natives; and the probability is, that he would fall a prey to the ravenous hyænas in a night or two. Having made some trifling presents to each of the Korannas, they now came to take leave of us with much ceremony, and cheered us cordially as we rode off.

Having emerged from the wooded banks of the river, we passed some hills of smooth naked rock, each, to appearance, composed of an

entire stone. In front, and to the left, the boundless desert plain then again stretched itself before us; while on the right the rugged Gariepine ridge, skirted by the river and its woody banks, extended to the westward as far as the eye could reach. As we advanced, the country near the river became so rugged and inaccessible, that my guides considered it requisite to bend our course more to the south-west, with the view of falling in again with the Gariep at Pella, a Missionary station in the Namaqua country, about two days' journey below this. At that place we calculated on obtaining every necessary refreshment to recruit us for the rest of my projected excursion.

The plains which we now entered upon were entirely destitute of water, and only a few straggling gemsboks and springboks were browsing on the withered herbage. The occasional and precarious thundershowers are, it appears, sufficient to maintain the hardy grasses of these regions, which, rushing up into hasty vegetation after rain, and as suddenly fading again under the parching drought, afford pasturage either in a green or withered state to myriads of wild animals, who migrate from place to place, according to the course of the seasons, and the abundance or scarcity of grass and water. It is from these tracts that the destructive flocks of *trek-bokken*, or migratory springboks, pressed by the long droughts, occasionally inundate the northern parts of the Colony.

At four P. M., after a long and dreary ride of about forty miles, we reached the bed of a river, near the bottom of a ridge of secondary mountains. Not being able to find any native appellation for either the river or mountain, I named the latter after the Earl of Morpeth, and the former after my worthy friend, Mr. Pillans. We found a band of Korannas encamped at Pillans River; but they had come from the banks of the Gariep merely to hunt, and had brought no provisions

with them, and only a little water in calabashes, none of which they could spare to us. After a search of about a mile up the bed of the torrent, however, we found a pit containing water, though so very brack that we could scarcely drink it. The pit, too, was so deep and narrow, that our horses could not get access to it, and with much labour and difficulty we lifted water in a tortoise shell, and poured it into the cavities of the rocks, from whence they eagerly licked it up with their parched tongues. Here we took up our residence for the night, and after turning out our horses to graze, resorted to our knapsack to cook our supper. What was my chagrin, to find that my too generous—my most improvident attendants, had given away almost the whole of our dried zebra flesh to the Korannas at the waterfall,—and that we were *once* more on short allowance, with this wretched water! To add to our privations, the night was exceedingly cold; and as we could not find wood to make a comfortable fire, we were frequently awakened by the chill piercing blast, and by the howling of the hungry hyænas. The Hottentots and I agreed in naming this "Miserable Station."

18.—Unable to find repose, we started about four A. M., and pursued our journey by moonlight. After an hour's ride, however, the Hottentots got so cold in the extremities, that they said they could not proceed. We therefore halted, kindled a fire, and waited till sunrise. The Africans, of all classes, are less capable of sustaining cold than Europeans, and much more readily affected, also, by atmospherical moisture.

We had passed the Morpeth ridge before we halted. These hills run from S. E. to N. W., terminating about twenty-five miles to the right on the Gariep. The Gariepine Walls were still the most prominent object on our right. Another extensive plain again lay before us, bounded far in the distance by another ridge of hills (similar to those we had just passed,)

which I called Carlisle ridge, in honour of the respected nobleman of that name.* On our left, in the direction of the Colony, the desert plains were bounded only by the horizon.

At sunrise we continued our march. The heat of the sun in the plains soon became as insupportable as the cold had been but a few hours ago; such are the sudden transitions of temperature. The excessive prevalence of nitre has, perhaps, no inconsiderable effect in increasing the nightly cold of these regions. We unsaddled after three hours' ride, and turned out our horses to graze; but though the plains were covered with dry herbage, they were unable to browse for want of water. Here we breakfasted on our last piece of zebra.

Our distance from Pella was still more than fifty miles, but seeing no prospect of obtaining either food or water before we arrived there, we resolved to make a grand push to reach it this day, if our jaded horses could possibly carry us through. Pushing on again, therefore, we speedily came to the brink of a long valley, extending between us and the foot of the Carlisle Mountains, about fifteen miles across. It was, like the plains we had left, entirely destitute of water. We descended into it through some naked ravines of calcareous gravel, and found the heat, on reaching the bottom, quite overpowering. Water now appeared to us the most valuable and desirable of all objects. We saw some wandering Bushmen at a distance, but too remote to overtake and question on this subject. Our horses became at every step more exhausted; and at length, just as we got across this 'burning valley,' as we called it, one of them finally gave up, and we were forced to abandon him to his fate, a prey to the lions and hyænas. We now began to be seriously alarmed for our safety. To stop here was impossible. The horses could not support thirst another day; and if they

* This ridge is termed "Kaabas Mountains" in Mr. Campbell's first journey.

failed before we reached water, we must perish ourselves. We threw away in desperation our pack-saddle, our powder-flasks, and every thing that we could possibly spare to lighten us, for our horses were now reduced to three, and these, from their previously exhausted condition, and particularly from the want of water, could not be expected to hold out many hours longer. The horse is an animal far less able to endure thirst than the ox; and on this account the latter is much preferred by travellers in dry countries.

At sunset we gained the foot of the Carlisle Mountains. Their height was apparently about 2000 feet, and I expected we should have to climb them with our weary steeds. I found, however, that my guides knew better, having been instructed by the Korannas to cross by a narrow pass which winds through the midst of them. This we happily succeeded in finding, and it led us through without a single step of ascent. It was one of the most bold and picturesque defiles I have ever seen,—winding through the bowels of the mountains, which rise on either hand in abrupt precipices, at least 1000 feet in height, and looked as if it had been originally torn by some convulsion of nature, through the solid mass of rock. It was twilight when we passed through, which increased the sombre and solemn effect of the scenery with its rocks and caverns rising around us in dim perspective. This *poort*, or pass, has received an appellation, signifying in the Namaqua and Bushman tongues, "Howling of the big men," from a circumstance which is said by the natives to have occurred at a distant period. A party of Boors had left the Colony to survey the banks of the Gariep, in hopes, perhaps, of discovering in these remote regions a land flowing with milk and honey, with none to dispute their occupation of it, but the feeble and famished natives. Whether they had committed any aggressions on the Bushmen in their route I did not learn, but they were waylaid in this defile on their return by the crafty and vindictive savages, and many of them slain by showers of stones and poisoned arrows:

and from the dismal howling they made in their flight, the pass received its name. This story is at least an evidence of the feelings which the arrogant oppressions of the white men have excited among the tribes of the desert.*

On emerging from this gloomy ravine, (where we were not altogether free from apprehension of meeting from the Bushmen a reception similar to that of the boors), the twilight was closing around, and we could just perceive that an extensive prospect opened to the westward, over a plain sprinkled here and there with detached hills. We now considered ourselves in Namaqualand, and steered our course direct for Pella, keeping the Carlisle Mountains close upon our right. Holding on as fast as the darkness and deplorable condition of our horses would permit, we travelled along, exhausted with thirst, hunger, and fatigue. Every hour seemed three times its usual length, and every minute I expected our horses would give up and leave us abandoned in the desert. One of them was so much exhausted, that whenever we came to a piece of sandy ground it dropped down as if it had been shot, with Witteboy on its back.

* The following verses are designed to express the sentiments with which these persecuted tribes may be supposed to regard the Colonists:

SONG OF THE WILD BUSHMAN.

LET the proud Boor possess his flocks,
And boast his fields of grain;
My home is 'mid the mountain rocks,
The desert my domain.
I plant no herbs nor pleasant fruits,
Nor toil for savoury cheer:
The desert yields me juicy roots,
And herds of bounding deer.

The countless springboks are my flock,
Spread o'er the boundless plain
The buffalo bends to my yoke,
And the wild horse to my rein:

After travelling nearly three hours in this miserable fashion, my Hottentots imagined that we must now be in the immediate vicinity of Pella. But hour after hour elapsed, and still we travelled on. We knew we could not miss the place, from its position at the foot of the mountains; but it seemed as if we were continually moving without getting nearer the much wished-for asylum, where all our sufferings we hoped would terminate. Thus we travelled onward for other three tedious hours. At length, with a joyful voice, Jacob called out "Water!" I looked down and caught the glimmering reflection of a star, at my horse's feet. The two Hottentots had already flung themselves from horseback, and were lying flat on their bellies, sucking in the refreshing moisture which oozed through the sand in a scarcely per-

My yoke is the quivering assagai,
My rein the tough bow-string;
My bridle curb is a slender barb—
Yet it quells the forest king.

The crested adder honoureth me,
And yields, at my command,
His poison bag, like the honey bee,
When I seize him on the sand.
Yea, even the locusts' wasting swarm,
Which mightiest nations dread,
To me brings joy in place of harm,
For I make of them my bread.

Thus I am lord of the Desert Land,
And I will not leave my bounds,
To crouch beneath the Christian's hand,
And kennel with his hounds:
To be a hound, and watch the flocks,
For the cruel white man's gain—
No! the swart Serpent of the Rocks
His den doth yet retain;
And none who there his sting provokes
Shall find its poison vain!

T. P.

ceptible streamlet. I was soon beside them, and for several minutes all was silent save the sound made by our horses greedily sucking up the water beside us. I thought we should have actually drained the little fountain dry before we ceased. Never was relief more seasonable.

We were now aware that we were in the immediate vicinity of Pella, but as it was very dark, and long past midnight, and we were excessively fatigued, we made fast our horses, and flung ourselves down beside them, supperless as we were, and without a fire.

19.—Too wearied and cold to sleep, I watched impatiently for the return of day to light us to the friendly horde of Namaquas, and the hospitable mansion of their missionary pastor. And as soon as daybreak began to glimmer over the mountains, I listened eagerly for the crowing of cocks, the bark of dogs, the lowing of cattle, or some other cheering evidence of the neighbourhood of men. But all was still and silent. As the dawn advanced, and objects became more distinct, we found ourselves within two hundred yards of a house. I started up, and advanced to it; but what was my dismay to find the whole station totally deserted. Not a human being, nor a living creature remained! The hearts of the Hottentots sank within them, and I saw deep dejection overspread their countenances. As for myself, though naturally of an elastic and sanguine temper, I confess, I now also felt appalled, and could with difficulty repress the conviction that we were really doomed to perish for want in this drear and desolate country.

On examining the place in search of something to quell the cravings of nature, I found a small neat building erected to serve the double purpose of church and school, and near it the habitation of the Missionary. The Namaquas themselves live, like the Korannas, in huts covered with mats, which they carry with them on pack-oxen, when they remove from place to place. I found abundance of fine water, sufficient to irrigate a few gardens, and was at a loss to account for the desertion of the station, or whether to ascribe it

to the failure of the pasturage, or to the plundering inroads of Africaner and his robber gang. How to discover where the Missionary and his flock were fled, or where else to find succour, was now the difficulty which I knew not how to surmount.

After ransacking every nook, and even committing a sort of sacrilege, by breaking into the little chapel, we returned to the spot where we had halted, without being able to find any thing in the shape of food, or any clue to direct us in the pursuit of the roaming inhabitants.

My Hottentots were exceedingly dejected. This was the place they had all along looked forward to for refreshment, and supplies for the rest of our journey. Every previous hardship they had supported with comparative patience; but their courage and confidence were now utterly gone, and they told me bluntly that they would follow me no farther. They had made up their minds, they said, to start about noon, as soon as the horses were a little rested and refreshed, and would endeavour to make their way back to the Colony, by the nearest route; riding the horses as far as they could carry them, and when they fell, to cut them up for food, and continue their journey on foot. It was in vain that I represented to them the desperate nature of such a project; that to the Colony was a journey of several days, even on fresh horses; that our exhausted ones could not possibly, without refreshment, carry us a single day longer; and that they could never get through the wilderness on foot: while, on the other hand, by proceeding perhaps only a few hours farther westward, we could scarcely fail of falling in with the Missionaries, or with some hordes of friendly Namaquas, where we should find food and shelter; or, at the worst, we were now within easy reach of the Gariep, and might find game on its banks, or kill one of our horses to support us there, till we could hear tidings of the Missionaries or Namaquas. It was in vain, however, that I thus reasoned with them. They told me doggedly, that they had made up their minds not to remain in this frightful country to

perish at last of thirst or hunger; and that I might do as I chose, but they would start for the Colony at noon.

The obstinacy of my men disconcerted me more than any thing that had yet occured. I wandered to the neighbouring heights, and gazed over the solitary plains; but not a human being—not a living creature met my view. I returned to the Hottentots, and found them, to my surprise, cooking something on the embers. On inquiry, I found it was a piece of zebra skin, which we had brought with us, to make shoes for the feet of the horses lamed by the flinty roads. This skin, having been beaten between two stones to make it tender, and the hair singed off, I joined them at breakfast on it, and found considerable relief from this sorry fare, coarse, and unpalatable as it was.*

Noon was now approaching, when the Hottentots had fixed to leave me, unless I agreed to accede to their plan, and accompany them back to the Colony; a plan, not only subversive of all my schemes for farther exploring the country, but, in our circumstances, attended with imminent danger of perishing in the wilds. I seated myself at a little distance from them, weighing in my own mind, whether it would be preferable to agree to their proposal, or remain here without them, and attempt to search out some Namaqua kraal, by following the course of the Gariep. While thus sadly ruminating, I turned my eyes to the south-west, and beheld two people approaching. I called joyfully to the Hottentots, and Witteboy and I immediately set off to meet them. They proved to be two Griquas, or Bastard Hottentots, belonging to a hunting party at some distance, who had come here in search of water. They had no provisions with them, but they gave us the grateful information, that Mr. Bartlet, the missionary, was now at a

* The vignette prefixed to this chapter will convey to the reader a pretty accurate portrait of my Hottentot guides, as they were wont to sit at ease by our evening watch-fires—smoking and chatting by turns. It is engraved from one of Dr. Heurtley's admirable sketches.

place called t'Kams, about twenty miles to the westward. This was joyful news to us. Twenty miles was, indeed, a dreary journey for men so hungry, and with horses so much exhausted as ours; but it was nothing to the difficulties we had just before contemplated. My Hottentots again willingly submitted themselves to my orders, and proceeded with alacrity to saddle our horses, in order to leave the desolate station of Pella.

This missionary station (belonging to the London society) is placed in a very low situation under the Carlisle, or Kaabas mountains, which rise here in frowning grandeur, almost perpendicularly, to the height of about 2000 feet. This ridge terminates at the Gariep, about half an hour's walk from Pella. The river flows through a narrow and rocky pass, forming a rapid between the Carlisle and Gariepine ridges. The situation of Pella seems well selected, but I believe the great prevalence of saltpetre in the soil renders it but little productive for vegetables. I observed, however, several ebony trees, which had been transplanted from the banks of the river, growing here in great luxuriance. Along the Gariep, both the black and white ebony is found in abundance.

After a tedious journey of about five hours, (our horses not being able to move faster than a walk,) we espied the cattle and encampment of the missionary and his people,—the most pleasing sight we had beheld since we left the Colony. On our approach Mr. Bartlet came forth to meet us, and gave me a most cordial welcome, though he seemed not a little surprised at my visit, and at my strange appearance. Being ushered into his little hut, I explained the occasion of my journey, and the nature of the privations I had lately endured. Some meat and tea were immediately prepared for me; and as I expressed a great longing for bread, some corn lately procured from Kamiesberg was ordered to be ground, and a cake to be prepared. Corn is no where raised in this country, and bread is consequently accounted rather a luxury than a necessary of life, even with the Missionaries.

In order to regale my Hottentots after their late sufferings, I purchased a whole sheep, and gave it to them to revel upon to their hearts' content. In regard to myself, Mr. Bartlet's hospitality left me nothing to desire. When the worthy man was informed of the route by which I had come, and the difficulties I had encountered, he seemed greatly surprised, and was most kind and assiduous in his attentions to promote my comfort. A good supper was prepared for me, at which I again partook of bread, that best staff of life. I then retired to rest, and once more enjoyed the luxury of a comfortable bed and sound repose, without apprehension of danger through the night, or anxiety for the morrow.

20.—A bright and beautiful spring morning awakened me to survey this pastoral station. It is watered by a spring from the rugged mountain which overhangs the encampment. The adjoining plains are covered with grass which grows all in separate tufts, like the hair on the head of a Hottentot. From this feature the spot derives its name *t'Kams*, a term signifying "tufted grass," in the Namaqua dialect.

Only a small party of from thirty to forty Namaquas were at present residing with the Missionary. When his congregation are all collected at Pella, they amount to about 400 souls; but the severe droughts, and consequent failure of pasturage, force them occasionally to disperse themselves in divisions over the country wherever a spring of water exists with grass in the vicinity for their flocks. It was on this account that Pella, though well supplied with water, was at this time entirely deserted. Such an unsettled and roving life is undoubtedly very adverse to the progress of civilization; but the nature of the country is such, that a people like the Namaquas must be nomadic, and the Missionaries must of necessity accompany them in their wanderings. As soon as rain falls, the pastures at Pella will instantly spring up, and the scattered divisions of the people will again be re-assembled.

Mr. Bartlet was now living in a small cabin covered with mats, in the

same simple fashion as his followers. This worthy man was unwearied in his attention to me, and, to recruit my wasted strength, had a fresh meal served up to me every two or three hours; so that I soon made up for my former privations, and felt myself so much recovered in the course of this day, that I made arrangements to proceed on my journey the following morning.

I spent the whole day in walking about and conversing with Mr. Bartlet, and in taking notes of the information I obtained from him, and the most intelligent of his people, respecting the present state of the Namaqua tribes, and of the country they inhabit. This information, together with what I have elsewhere collected on the same subject, will be found condensed into the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NAMAQUAS. — EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF THEIR COUNTRY. — MANNERS AND MODE OF LIFE.—HEAT OF THE CLIMATE.—VENOMOUS REPTILES AND INSECTS.—THE ROBBER AFRICANER.—THE DAMARA NATION.—DISORDERLY STATE OF THE BASTARD POPULATION ALONG THE BANKS OF THE GARIEP.

THE Namaquas are a race of Hottentots inhabiting the country adjoining to the coast on both sides of the Gariep. They are a pastoral people, resembling the Korannas, and the aboriginal tribes of the Colony in their general characteristics; living chiefly on milk; addicted to a roaming life; and of a disposition mild, indolent, and unenterprising. Mr. Barrow visited some of their kraals in the vicinity of the Kamiesberg, during his excursions in the Colony thirty years ago, and his brief notices, written with his usual felicity, and power of observation, still afford the only account of this people worthy of perusal. It falls now to my office to fill up a little more fully the sketch so ably and accurately drawn by him.

The country of this tribe is usually distinguished on the maps by the names of Great and Little Namaqualand. The latter division, whatever may have been its original extent, is now confined to the acute angle, extending

between the sea-coast and the Gariep, and bounded on the south and east by the Koussie River, and the Carlisle mountains. Great Namaqualand is a country of a much larger and more undefined extent. It extends about 200 miles northward, from the banks of the Gariep, and about the same distance eastward, from the sea-coast, towards the interior. From the Bechuana country it is separated by an extensive tract of desert, totally uninhabitable on account of the want of water. On the north it is bounded by the country of the Damaras. A great part of this territory consists of an extensive plain, or valley, watered, or rather drained, by a stream, called the Fish River by Vaillant, and erroneously described in his map, and in Burchell's, on his authority, as falling into the sea to the northward of Angra Pequina Bay. This river I have ascertained to be a branch of the Gariep, and have distinguished it by the name of my friend and partner Mr. A. Borradaile. It joins the Gariep at no great distance from the mouth of that river, and after heavy rains is said to be a stream of great magnitude; but, like other occasional rivers, its channel seems to be for the greater part almost empty, and only re-appears here and there in stagnant pools. Such as it is, however, it is, next to the Gariep, the principal river of the Namaqua country; and in the dry season its banks are resorted to by a great number of the natives. Another river of some importance, called the Kooisip, is described as falling into the sea farther to the northward; but as I could not obtain any very distinct intelligence of its course or character, it is not inserted in the map. Altogether, Namaqualand is a dry and desolate country, enlivened only here and there by a few permanent fountains, which supply the natives and their cattle in the seasons of drought, which are long and frequent. The great valley of *Borradaile* is divided from the sea-coast by a range of rugged hills of no great elevation, which seem to run on to the ridge which I have named the Gariepine walls.

The soil of Namaqualand is in general light and sandy, and thinly clothed

with a sort of grass that rushes suddenly up into vegetation after the precarious rains which the climate affords, and furnishes sufficient pasturage for numerous herds of cattle and wild animals. Some of the plains towards the sources of the Borradaile River are reported to be much more fertile in pasturage than the rest of the country, and there are scattered here and there a few copious fountains, which the Missionaries consider eligible situations for permanent villages.

The Namaquas are divided, like all the Hottentot tribes, into a variety of separate clans, governed (if such a term can be used for their rude polity) by a chief, whose authority is very circumscribed and precarious. The kraals bordering upon the Colony have been long ago extirpated, or reduced into servitude by the boors. The extensive plains, lying between the Gariep and the Kamiesberg, are represented, by old writers, as occupied by a numerous race of people, possessed of large flocks and herds, and living in ease and abundance. Of these, the tribe now resident at Pella and its vicinity, is the only one remaining. It is named (after a sort of bee that associates amicably with the common sort) *Obseses*, probably from this horde being formed from the association of several smaller ones. In great Namaqualand the population appears also to be rapidly decreasing, from causes to which I shall speedily advert, but the following clans are mentioned as still existing there, and some of them as being numerous: the Nannimap, Koerissimap, Kannamap-arrisip, Haikammap-koowoosip, Tsaumap, Tsaugamap, Karramap, Aimap, Kanma-tsawep, Gandemap, &c.

The Namaquas live in moveable huts, resembling, in all respects, those of the Korannas, excepting that they are rather larger in size, and the floor is usually excavated to the depth of a foot, or eighteen inches, below the level of the adjoining soil. They have no stations that can strictly be called permanent, but roam from place to place with their flocks and herds and household utensils, according as the want of water and pasturage may require.

Even Pella, which the Missionaries have been endeavouring for these dozen years to establish as a village, is, as we have seen, occasionally deserted for months together; and such are the peculiarities of the soil and climate, that it seems extremely doubtful whether the wandering habits of the people can ever, to any considerable extent, be overcome.

They have a breed of sheep different from those of the Colony, being destitute of the large tails characteristic of the latter. Their dress, manners, superstitions, and mode of life, resemble, in almost all respects, those of the old colonial Hottentots, except in so far as some of them have been partially enlightened and improved by intercourse with the Missionaries, to whom they seem to be sincerely attached.

The climate of Namaqualand is much hotter and drier than that of the east coast. On the immediate banks of the Gariep, which are, in this quarter, considerably below the elevation of the surrounding country, the heat in the summer months is very intense. The thermometer then frequently rises to 120°—a temperature not easily supported by the natives, much less by Europeans. At such seasons, should a cow or ewe drop the calf, or lamb, out of the shade, in the heat of the day, it instantly expires. The numerous reptiles and insects, common to the Colony, grow here to a larger size, and possess a more dangerous character. The formidable snake, known in the Colony by the name of cobra-capella, is said sometimes to attain the length of fifteen feet, and the puff-adder, ten. Mr. Bartlet assured me that he had actually seen a scorpion upwards of half a foot in length—but I suspect the good man must, in this instance, have been under some mistake, or unconsciously guilty of some degree of exaggeration. Tarantulas and other venomous spiders are numerous and deadly. I was told of a woman who had been recently bit by a very small spider in the toe, and had, in consequence, fallen into convulsions, and died in a few hours.

A species of crocodile is reported to exist in the Gariep, but I am per-

suaded it is the leguan, which is found in many parts of the Colony, and is a very harmless animal. It is, however, certain that the boa constrictor is occasionally found so far south as the Gariep. Snakes of the length of forty or fifty feet are said to exist, and instances are related by the natives of the larger antelopes, and even cows, being occasionally attacked by them. Reports of very enormous serpents being sometimes discovered in the secret recesses of the rocks and mountains, have long been known to prevail among the Bechuana and Caffer tribes, and even among the colonial Hottentots; but have been generally discredited by travellers. I have, however, in my possession part of the skin of a great serpent, killed by the natives near the Kuruman, which has been subjected to the inspection of Dr. Smith, superintendent of the South African Museum, and ascertained to belong to the boa.

Fish are found in the Gariep, near its mouth, in considerable numbers. After the periodical floods, they are often left in shallow pools by the retiring waters, and are then caught by the natives, by means of rush mats, used in place of nets. Some are said to measure six or seven feet in length, being probably of the sort known at Cape Town by the name of snook or pike. Though good and wholesome food, (except at one particular season) they are not much relished by the natives, who from some prejudices, probably of a superstitious nature, are generally averse to eating fish. By the Caffer tribes, all sorts, except shell-fish, are held in abhorrence, as unclean. It is, however, remarkable, that a disease prevails among the fish in this river, similar to that which affects the inhabitants, and the animals who drink its waters after the periodical floods; and which seems to prove that the Gariep then acquires some unwholesome taint from the soil washed by its redundant streams.

The Namaqua tribes, formerly rich in sheep and cattle, passing an easy and unmolested life, except from occasional skirmishes with the wandering Bushmen, have of late years been assailed by a race of far more formidable enemies. About fifteen years ago, a Bastard Hottentot named Africaner, col-

lected a band of people of his own race, runaway slaves, and other desperadoes; and having by some means procured fire-arms, commenced a regular system of depredation upon the defenceless Namaquas and Korannas, plundering them of great numbers of their cattle, which he exchanged again with some unprincipled colonists for further supplies of arms and ammunition. This continued until the robber chief was converted to Christianity, and to a decent and sober course of life, by one of the Missionaries, who, at the hazard of his life, paid a visit to him with that beneficent view. His conversion was sincere; and, from a lawless bandit, he became an estimable and exemplary man, and the friend and protector of those whom he had formerly persecuted. But unfortunately, this happy state of tranquillity was but of brief duration; Africaner died, and on his decease, his son, of the same name, and the majority of his followers, speedily reverted to their former course, and have become as formidable and destructive as ever to the helpless tribes around them.* This band now amounts to more than 300 men, and have in their possession about 200 muskets, partly taken by force from some of the Koranna hordes, and partly acquired by illicit traffic with traders from the Colony. After robbing the inoffensive Korannas and Namaquas of the greater part of their cattle, they have recently made several successful expeditions against the Damaras, and are the scourge and terror of the whole of this part of Africa.

Of the Damara nation, who inhabit the west coast beyond Great Nama-

* Mr. Moffat, after the conversion of old Africaner, was stationed for some years at his kraal, and had considerable success in instructing his wild followers; but was afterwards withdrawn by his Society, to conduct the more important mission among the Bechuanas. On the death of Africaner, which occurred about two years afterwards, the orderly part of his people removed to the missionary stations in Namaqualand, and the rest reverted to the bandit and brutal state from which they had been half retrieved. For civilized man to sink back to the savage state is an easy and every day process; but to raise the savage to civilization requires a thousand levers —and a thousand links to hold him there.

qualand, I received the following accounts from the Missionaries and other persons who had visited them. They are a people of Caffer race, speaking a dialect similar to that of the Bechuanas. Their country is more fertile than that of the Namaquas, so that they are enabled successfully to cultivate millet, pumpkins, beans, and the other vegetables commonly used by other tribes of the same race. They also possess numerous herds of cattle, and are not, as Barrow has erroneously stated, on the authority of a refugee of their nation, obliged to procure a precarious subsistence, by bartering with the neighbouring tribes the ornaments which they manufacture from the native copper ore of their country. It is, however, certain that very rich copper ore is found there in abundance, and is smelted and wrought by them in the manner described by Barrow. Specimens of this ore have been brought to Cape Town.

The Damaras are associated in larger communities than the Korannas or Namaquas, are governed by hereditary chiefs, practise circumcision, and live in villages substantially constructed in the Bechuana fashion. The clans nearest to the Colony are known by the names of the Ghoup, the Nevis, the Gamaqua, and the Kurars. These are, however, evidently not their native appellations, but names of Hottentot origin. Like the Matclhapees, they also use bows and arrows, as well as assagais. It seems probable that both they and the Matclhapees have adopted the bow and poisoned arrows of the Hottentots, from their close intercourse with tribes of that race; for neither the Bechuanas farther to the northward, nor any of the tribes of Southern Caffers, use the bow, or ever poison any of their weapons.

The Damaras are separated from the Bechuana tribes to the eastward by an extensive desert, destitute of water, and consequently uninhabited. It is, however, occasionally crossed, after the rainy season, by parties of the Matclhapee and Karrikarri clans, who, when not engaged in wars nearer home, relieve the tedium of existence, by going on expeditions to plunder

their weaker neighbours. Some of the Damara chiefs informed the Missionaries who visited them, that there is an island on their coast where ships sometimes anchor, and barter iron for cattle. In latitude 22°, (which must be in the country of the Damaras, or of one of the tribes of the same family), Captain Chapman of the Espiégle sloop of war, discovered in 1824 a large stream which he has called the Nourse River in honour of the late respected Commodore of that name. The river he describes to be about three miles broad at the mouth, and though obstructed like too many of the African streams with a bar across the entrance, it was, when he examined it, easily accessible to small craft, having nine feet of water on the bar, and without any surf. The country adjoining, and for a large extent along the coast, is described as verdant and well wooded, and abounding with wild animals, particularly elephants and buffaloes. The mouth of the Nourse River, therefore, may possibly prove to be a far more favourable station for commercial intercourse with the natives than the mouth of the Gariep, which is scarcely accessible (as I have ascertained) even for boats, while its course for several hundred miles upwards is obstructed by numerous falls and rapids, and scarcely to be considered as capable of affording any facilities for inland navigation. Besides this, the country on the lower part of its course is, as we have seen, exceedingly barren and desolate, and peopled only by a few wandering Hottentot hordes, oppressed with poverty, and distracted by internal warfare.

The present state of things on the banks of the Gariep appears indeed to call loudly for the interference of the Colonial Government. This region has become of late years a place of resort for numerous bands of banditti, consisting chiefly of Bastard Hottentots and runaway slaves. Africaner's band has been mentioned, and there are others less considerable along the course of the river. Since my visit to Griqua Town, the divisions in that community have broken out into open war, between the different factions. A large

proportion of the disaffected have removed to the mountains east of the Zeekoe River, and have again betaken themselves to the lawless and bandit life, from which the Missionaries, after years of danger and difficulty, had happily reformed them. They have plundered the helpless Bechuana clans to the eastward in the most unprovoked and cruel manner. They have destroyed or dispersed whole tribes, by robbing them of their cattle and even their children, emulating the ferocity and augmenting the miseries inflicted by the savage Mantatees. This deplorable state of things now prevails, (or at least prevailed at the time of my visit to Namaqualand) from the sources of the Gariep to its mouth. The Griqua or Bastard population is spread along the banks of that river for an extent of at least seven hundred miles. Their numbers altogether are estimated to amount to nearly five thousand souls, and they have now in their possession, I am convinced, at least seven hundred muskets. Notwithstanding all the proclamations to the contrary, they readily obtain constant supplies of ammunition from the Boors, whom the great profits tempt to carry on this traffic in defiance of the Colonial regulations and of the claims of humanity. While at t'Kams I was informed that a farmer was then on the river with a large supply of gunpowder, which he was bartering with the Bastards for cattle, acquired by plunder. The profits of this smuggling traffic must be immense, for this fellow received, for every pound of gunpowder which he sold to these banditti, an ox or cow.

I do not mean to allege that all the Griqua population have become robbers and oppressors of the native tribes. An honourable exception must be made in favour of the principal community at Griqua Town, under the control of Mr. Melvill and the Missionaries, whom I have described in my former journey. But all the disaffected and disorderly spirits, who have either separated themselves from this community, or have fled from the Colony, to

other quarters of the Gariepine wilderness, are now associated into bands of outlaws, who subsist more or less by plundering the helpless natives.

This state of affairs is too discreditable to the Colonial Government to be longer permitted to exist. For though these disorders have doubtless originated without its knowledge, and have continued in defiance of its laws, yet now that Government has become aware of them, it is its obvious duty to adopt energetic measures for their suppression. What may be the best method for effecting this object, it would be rash for a cursory traveller to profess to decide. But the extension of the boundary of the Colony to the Gariep, seems to be on many accounts expedient; and is a measure now earnestly desired by the native tribes themselves. In proposing such an extension of the boundary, I am far from advocating the system that has too long prevailed of continually extending the occupation of the country by the colonial farmers. My sentiments on this point will be expressed hereafter. But by making this Great River the limit of our sway to the north, we should place at once an excellent natural barrier between the Colony and the independent tribes beyond it; and we should extirpate the banditti who now infest its banks, by recalling the Griqua clans by mild, equitable, and prudent measures, under our Government, and locating them permanently under the control of proper magistrates, supported by proper authority. If an advanced post of military were considered necessary, or a new seat of provincial magistracy were required to watch over the interests of the native tribes, and check abuses by the Colonists and Griquas, probably the Kamiesberg may be found the most suitable position, and the missionary settlement already there would, in such an event, afford many facilities for the establishment of a prosperous village.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEPARTURE FROM T'KAMS.—GRASSY PLAINS.—GOUBUS FOUNTAIN.—OLD MISSIONARY, AND SCHOOLMASTER.—ARRIVAL AT KAMIESBERG.—GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARIES.

AUGUST 21.—HAVING procured, with Mr. Bartlet's friendly aid, four fresh horses and two new guides, I here paid off Witteboy and Jacob, and left them to return to the Colony at their leisure, when they, and the exhausted horses which I had brought from Hantam, had sufficiently recovered strength. My original plan had been to trace the Gariep to its mouth, and after examining the nature of the bar, to extend my excursion into Great Namaqualand, and perhaps, as far as the Damara country, which no European, except some of the Missionaries, had yet visited. But the difficulties I had already encountered from the extreme drought which now prevailed, the

very disturbed and dangerous state of the country across the Gariep,*—and its general destitution of commercial resources,—induced me, after due consideration, to abandon this design, and to shape my course back towards the Colony, contenting myself with the information I had now collected respecting the other objects of my intended route.

About two, P. M. therefore, I took leave of my kind host. Having passed the mountain which runs to the west of t'Kams, we entered upon an extensive plain, clothed with dry tufted grass, but destitute of water. A few insulated rocks and hills rose before us, and on our right, between us and the Gariep, I observed some flocks of ostriches and gemsboks. After riding about twelve miles across a dead flat, we passed through a defile, between two rugged hills, beyond which the dry grassy plains extended to the south and west, bounded only by the horizon. My guides were desirous of reaching some rocks this evening, in the crevices of which they expected to find water, in consequence of a late thunder-storm, which had passed in that direction. We continued our journey, therefore, long after night-fall, lighted only by the stars. My guides rode on before me with the silent apathy of the Hottentot race. Not a sound was heard, but a sort of melancholy music, produced by the feet of the horses perpetually brushing the long withered grass. Thus we proceeded till past ten o'clock, when being still a long way from the intended spot, it was agreed to make a halt till daybreak. The night was very cold, and the only fuel we could procure was dry grass, which blazed for an instant, and was gone. To keep up a watch-fire through the night was impossible. We stretched ourselves, therefore, on the cold sand, and committing myself as usual, to the care of Providence, I was soon asleep.

* Since that time, the Wesleyan missionary Mr. Threlfall, in endeavouring to penetrate into the Damara country, has been murdered by some of the natives whom he had engaged as guides.

To sleep thus on the open plain, without fire, is very dangerous, on account of the lions, but we spent the night undisturbed.

22.—At daybreak we started from our lair, and shook the heavy dew from our shaggy mantles. The immense plain extended round us on every side, bounded only by the horizon, and covered by the same dry tufted herbage already described. I named this spot 'Forlorn Station.'

Continuing our journey for three hours farther, we reached a place called *Goubus*, a singular mass of naked rocks, rising twenty or thirty feet above the level of the surrounding plains, and extending three or four hundred yards in length. Here, with difficulty, we procured water, by digging in some old pits, between the masses of rock, which form a sort of basin or trough, in which the rain water is collected. It is from this circumstance that the spot derives its name,—Goubus, in the Bushman language, signifying "Trough Fountain."

After having had some refreshment from my wallet, (which I had taken care to have replenished with sufficient provisions to carry us through the uninhabited desert,) we again proceeded. The same boundless waste extended around us, animated only now and then by a few wandering ostriches, till about two hours before sunset, when we saw the peaks of the Kamies mountain cut the horizon ahead of us, at the distance of fifty or sixty miles. An hour or two more brought us among some secondary hills which run on to the Kamiesberg, and among these hills we reached, in the course of the evening, a place called Riet-Fonteyn, occupied by a Griqua, or Bastard-Hottentot, named Dirk Boukes. A little before arriving here we passed a numerous flock of ostriches, amounting to nearly a hundred, with their fine plumes waving beautifully in the setting sun.

The occupant of this place seemed more like a substantial boor than a degraded Hottentot. He had large flocks and herds, and had cultivated a considerable quantity of land; and his establishment altogether was on a

very respectable footing, excepting his dwelling, which was only a temporary hut, in the style of the Namaquas. The father of our host occupies another place in the Kamiesberg, and he has seven or eight brothers, all of whom likewise possess property. This Griqua family may, therefore, be considered, as in circumstances, much superior to the generality of their caste. It is a great hardship, in regard to this class of people, that they have hitherto been systematically prevented from acquiring landed property in the Colony. In consequence of this, they are generally driven entirely beyond the boundary, and tempted to become outlaws and robbers; for if any of them occupy and improve a vacant spot within the limit, they are always liable to be dispossessed by some boor obtaining a grant of it from the Government, who thus reaps the fruit of all their improvements and industry.

At this place was also fixed a German Missionary, (employed by the London Society,) of the name of Wimmer, who had been engaged for many years as a preacher among the Namaquas. And here, also, was another wanderer, a native of England, named Martin, who had long been an itinerant schoolmaster among the boors, and was now, at the age of seventy-two, filling the same office to the families of some of the Griquas. Forty-seven years ago, he told me, he had accompanied the traveller Patterson in his excursions through the Colony; but had now nearly forgot his native tongue. I spent an agreeable evening in conversing with these old men, and in listening to their accounts of the native tribes, and of the changes that had taken place among them within the period of their remembrance.

23.—After an early breakfast, I left these hospitable people. From Pella to this place, the country had been constantly, though imperceptibly, rising, so that we must, even before leaving the plains, have been some thousand feet above the level of the ocean. The soft sandy plains, clothed with a boundless sea of tufted grass, had given way to a clayey soil, dotted

here and there with ant hills,*—or to hard gravelly strata, covered with the brown, heathy-looking shrubs, so prevalent over great part of the Colony; and in an hour after leaving Riet-Fonteyn, we crossed the Koussie, or Buffalo's River, the present Colonial boundary. For about four hours farther, our route lay through the windings of the detached mountains, forming part of the Kamiesberg ridge. On our way we passed the locations of some Griquas in possession of large herds of cattle. About midway we halted for an hour in a picturesque defile, called Pieter's Kloof, where there was good water, and where we refreshed ourselves from the stores of our knapsack. The face of the country had here a very different aspect from the parched wastes I had lately traversed. Rain had fallen in abundance, and the declivities of the mountains were clothed with green forage of a bushy nature, excellent pasture for horses and cattle.

An hour or two beyond this spot, we fell in with a Boor named Van Zyl, with a band of about thirty Griquas, repairing the road which leads across the Kamiesberg. They seemed much surprised at seeing an English traveller (who was *not* a Missionary) in this remote quarter. Several heavy showers of rain and sleet overtook us as we ascended the mountain,—

* The sandy soil of Namaqualand is not congenial to the little architectural ant which covers the plains of the Bushman Country, and many parts of the Colony, with millions of its conical heaps—sometimes rising to the height of four feet. There are, however, other species of ants in this country, and the great ant-eater is found throughout every part of South Africa. This animal (of which an engraving is prefixed to this chapter) is called by the Dutch colonists the *Aardvark*, or earth pig. It burrows under ground, making large holes, which are very numerous in many quarters of the country, and not a little perilous to travellers on horseback, as has already been repeatedly noticed in my narrative. The Aardvark is about four feet and a half in length, and occasionally is found to weigh upwards of 100lbs. It is destitute of teeth, and lives entirely upon ants, which it procures by making a breach in their clay-built fortresses, by means of its strong claws, and then thrusts in its long tongue, covered with glutinous matter, to catch the tiny myriads as they hurry forth from their thousand crevices. It is by night that the ant-eater thus follows his vocation. By day he lies quiet in his burrow, and is seldom or never seen.

a novel thing to me, and indicating a far different climate from that of the parched plains I had left. At sunset we gained the summit of the mountains, and the Hottentot station of Lily Fountain, established there by the Wesleyan Missionaries. Mr. Shaw, the missionary, being on a journey to Cape Town, I was hospitably received by two native teachers, who had the superintendence of the institution in his absence. One of the Missionaries' houses was allotted to me, and a good fire and refreshments were prepared for my accommodation.

In the course of the evening, I was joined by the Boor Van Zyl, who was exceedingly anxious to hear *who* I was, and *what* were my objects in travelling. He told me that many of the Bastard-Hottentots in the vicinity had absconded, under the apprehension that I was a military officer, come to press men for the Cape corps,—a service which most of them hold in great abhorrence, ever since that regiment was recruited, some years ago, by compulsory enrolment. Captain Blakeway had been here only a few months before, endeavouring to obtain men by voluntary enlistment, but without success; and they now imagined that I was another officer come to take them by force.

The settlement of Lily Fountain was commenced eight or ten years ago, by the Wesleyans. Three-fourths of the inhabitants were at present dispersed with their flocks and herds at various outposts of the mountain glens. When collected, they amount to about 400 souls, consisting principally of Namaqua Hottentots, intermingled with several families of the mixed or Bastard race. The latter are generally the most wealthy and enterprising. Very large herds of cattle are possessed by many individuals. The two native superintendants who entertained me, mentioned that upwards of 4000 head belong to this little community. The place is also well adapted for breeding horses, being exempt from the periodical distemper to which that useful animal is subject throughout the greater part of the Colony. Indeed, ge-

nerally speaking, the summits of mountains are the only secure places for horses during the autumnal months, when the sickness prevails.

The extent of land cultivated here is very considerable. About ninety muids of wheat (or somewhat more than 270 Winchester bushels,) had been sown this season, covering from three to four hundred acres; and from which, if the season were tolerably favourable, a return of from thirty to fifty fold was anticipated. Were there any accessible market for their surplus produce, a much larger quantity might readily be raised; for the frequency of snow and rain on this favoured mountain, keeps the springs always running, and renders at the same time irrigation less indispensable. But as there are at present no means of disposing of any quantity of surplus grain in this quarter, the cultivation is necessarily confined to the immediate wants of the inhabitants.

The Kamiesberg is distant about forty miles from the west coast, and is considered to be from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea. The Missionary establishment is within 300 feet of the highest peak of the mountain. The climate is consequently very different from that of the plains below. Falls of snow are frequent during the winter, and the frost is sometimes so severe as to injure the young crops. For this reason, as well as on account of the sour grass, it is not very favourable for rearing sheep; and some of the more delicate fruits of the Colony cannot be raised here. But its advantages are, nevertheless, great, and the salubrity of its climate proverbial. On the whole, it appeared to me a well-selected and well-conducted Missionary station, highly creditable to its founders, and highly beneficial to the people under their control.

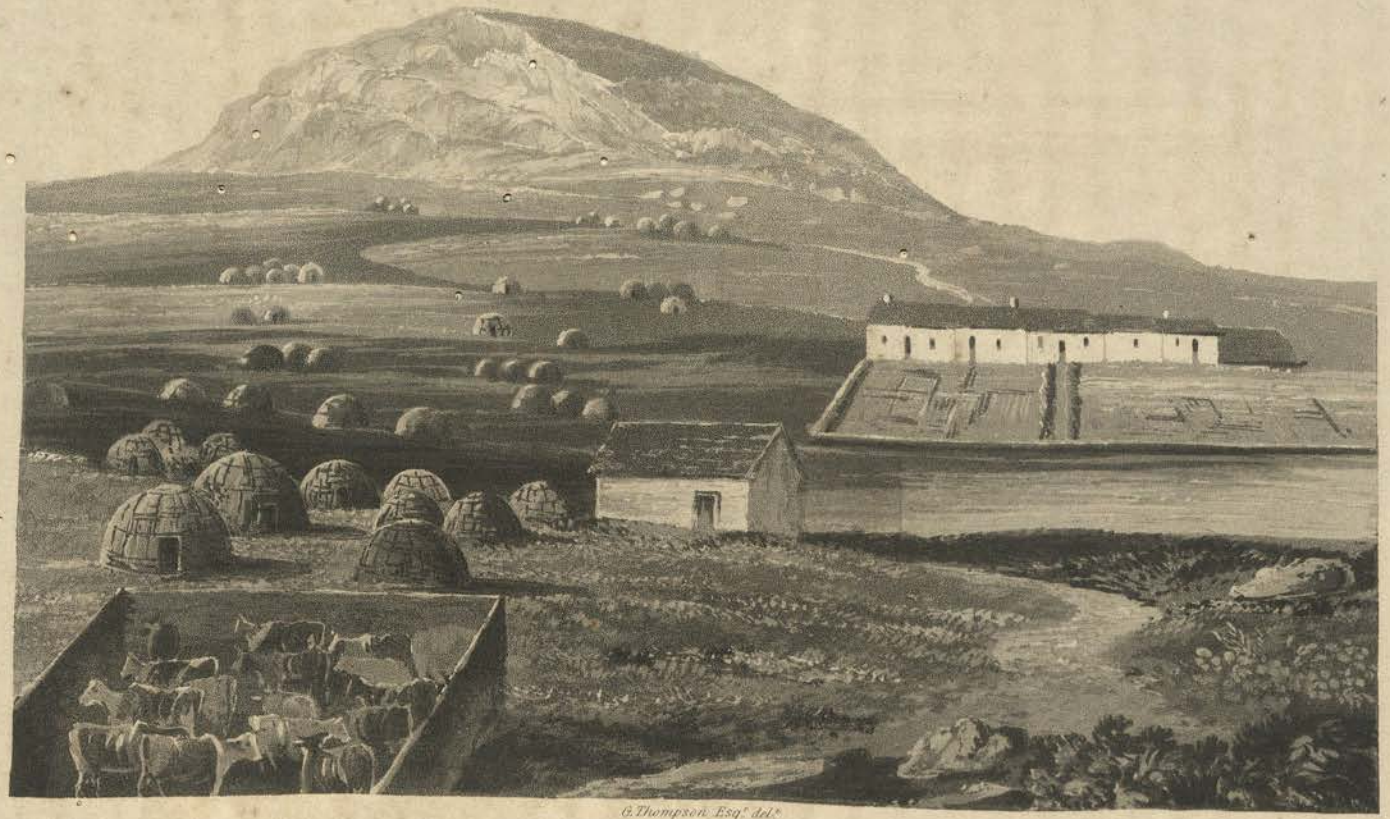
Having now visited nearly the whole of the Missionary stations in Southern Africa, it may not be improper to express in a few words the opinion I have formed regarding them. The usual objections against them are, that the generality of the Missionaries are a fanatical class of men, more earnest

to inculcate the peculiar dogmas of their different sects, than to instruct the barbarous tribes in the arts of civilization; that most of them are vulgar and uninformed,—many of them injudicious,—some of them immoral;—and finally, that their exertions, whether to civilize or christianize the natives, have not hitherto been followed by any commensurate results.

Now my observations have led me to form a very different conclusion. It is no doubt true, that the Missionaries labouring among the tribes of the interior, are generally persons of limited education, most of them having originally been common mechanics: but it seems very doubtful whether men of more refined and cultivated minds would be better adapted to meet the plain capacities of unintellectual barbarians; and, were such teachers ever so preferable, where could they be procured? On the whole, the Missionaries I have been acquainted with in South Africa, appear to me generally well adapted for such service. Most of them are men of good, plain understanding, and industrious habits, zealously interested in the success of their labours, cordially attached to the natives, and willing to encounter for their improvement, toil, danger, and privation. A few instances, in a long course of years, of indiscreet, or indolent, or immoral persons having been found among the Missionaries, proves nothing against the general respectability of their characters, or the utility of their exertions. Imperfection will be found wherever human agents are employed. But such unfavourable exceptions are rare; while, among them, many persons of superior ability, and even science, are to be found: and I may safely affirm, that at every Missionary station I have visited, instruction in the arts of civilized life, and in the knowledge of pure and practical religion, go hand in hand.

It is true, that among the wilder tribes of Bushmen, Korannas, and Bechuanas, the progress of the missions has hitherto been exceedingly slow and circumscribed. But persons who have visited these tribes, and are best qualified to appreciate the difficulties to be surmounted in instructing and

civilizing them, will, if they are not led away by prejudice, be far more disposed to admire the exemplary fortitude, patience, and perseverance of the Missionaries, than to speak of them with contempt and contumely. These devoted men are found in the remotest deserts, accompanying the wild and wandering savages from place to place, destitute of almost every comfort, and at times without even the necessaries of life. Some of them have without murmuring spent their whole lives in such service. Let those who consider missions as idle, or unavailing, visit Gnadenthal, Bethelsdorp, Theopolis, the Caffer stations, Griqua Town, Kamiesberg, &c. &c. &c.—let them view what *has* been effected at these institutions for tribes of the natives, oppressed, neglected, or despised by every other class of men of Christian name: and if they do not find all accomplished which the world had, perhaps, too sanguinely anticipated, let them fairly weigh the obstacles that have been encountered before they venture to pronounce an unfavourable decision. For my own part, utterly unconnected as I am with missionaries, or missionary societies of any description, I cannot, in candour and justice, withhold from them my humble meed of applause for their labours in Southern Africa. They have, without question, been in this country, not only the devoted teachers of our holy religion to the heathen tribes, but also the indefatigable pioneers of discovery and civilization. Nor is their character unappreciated by the natives. Averse as they still are, in many places, to receive a religion, the doctrines of which are too pure and benevolent to be congenial to hearts depraved by selfish and vindictive passions, they are yet every where friendly to the missionaries, eagerly invite them to reside in their territories, and consult them in all their emergencies. Such is the impression which the disinterestedness, patience, and kindness of the Missionaries, have, after long years of labour and difficulty, decidedly made even upon the wildest and fiercest of the South African tribes with whom they have come in contact; and this favourable *impression*, where more has not yet been achieved, is of itself a most important step towards full and ultimate success.



G. Thompson Esq.r del.t

KAMIESBERG.

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CHAPTER IX.

JOURNEY FROM KAMIESBERG TO CLAN-WILLIAM.—DESERTED LOCATION OF THE IRISH SETTLERS.—INDUSTRIOUS HOTTENTOT FARMER.—ST. HELENA BAY.—EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON.—SALDANHA BAY.—GROOTE-POST.—GROENE-KLOOF.—ARRIVAL IN CAPE TOWN.

AUGUST 24.—ON looking out this morning at sunrise, I was surprised to find the ground white with snow, and the thermometer at the freezing point. In little more than an hour, however, the snow entirely disappeared; and I found an opportunity to take the annexed sketch of the Missionary village.* After breakfast, I again started with fresh horses, having dismissed the horses and guides I had brought from Namaqualand.

From the brow of the mountain, a most extensive prospect lay before me; but wild and desolate, and unenlivened by the dwellings of man, or the marks of human improvement. Far in the west the wide Atlantic embraced the coast, and bounded the horizon. We descended from the mountain by an abrupt and broken footpath, and after passing some locations of Griqua

* The huts are of the moveable sort used by the Namaquas, and most of the inhabitants being absent when I was there, had carried their huts with them; so that the village was reduced to a small hamlet.

farmers, we continued our way through an intricate maze of winding kloofs, till we reached the place of the Veld-Cornet Engelbregt, after a continual descent of about thirty miles. This was the first boor's place I had seen on my return into the Colony. The master was living in a rude Namaqua hut, though apparently a person of considerable substance. Such are the slovenly habits which a wandering pastoral life creates, and perpetuates. The abundant rains, which had recently fallen in this quarter, had produced every where an exuberant freshness over the face of Nature, exceedingly delightful to my eye, after roaming so long through the parched deserts of the Bushman and Namaqua countries. Pleasant rills, too, were now pouring from every mountain glen. But these refreshing streams do not extend permanently beyond the skirts of the Kamiesberg. A great deficiency of water prevails from the place where we now were, to the banks of the Oliphant's River, a distance of nearly one hundred miles. This tract of country is, consequently, to a great extent, only capable of being occupied occasionally, and after heavy rains; a circumstance which greatly tends to confirm the slovenly and roaming habits of the neighbouring colonists. Desolate and inhospitable as is this tract of country, it was nevertheless sufficiently tempting to the Christians, to occasion the dispossession, and ultimate extinction of a Hottentot tribe, called the Amaquas, who formerly occupied it.

The boor Engelbregt accompanied me to the residence of his next neighbour Coetzee, called Buffel's-Fonteyn, about twenty miles distant. I found this man also living in a Namaqua hut, without either garden or corn-field, but with extensive kraals full of sheep and cattle, which were encircled by numerous fires, to scare off the wolves and wild dogs.

25.—Daylight showed this boor's encampment to be most picturesquely situated, amidst prodigious blocks of naked granite, each of them like a little mountain of one entire mass. The Paarl Rock, from which the village of that name derives its appellation, is far from equalling some of these in size,

though by some travellers supposed to be one of the largest detached rocks in the world.

Having engaged a guide and three good horses, as far as Oliphant's River, I pursued my journey through a solitary and desolate country, almost void of inhabitants, with no living thing to relieve the monotony of the scenery, except the korhaan,* rising every now and then before our horses, and screaming forth its hoarse, discordant cry. In the evening I reached Eland's-Fonteyn, (De Toit's,) after a journey of fully sixty miles. This was a "Request place," occupied only in the winter, and the farmer and his family were living in Namaqua huts.

26.—Resumed my journey before daybreak. At sunrise I was cheered by the morning carols of numerous birds among the bushes, and the appearance and sweet perfume of a great variety of brilliant flowers and heaths, called forth by the late rains. We crossed on our way the dry bed of the Hantam River, near the spot where it joins the Oliphant's River, and in an hour afterwards, reached Friedensdal, the place of the Veld-Cornet Van Zyl, upon the banks of the latter stream.

I was here informed that the Oliphant's River overflows its banks in certain places generally before seed-time, and that the land so overflowed, being immediately ploughed and sown while saturated with moisture, produces very abundant crops without further irrigation. I conceive it possible that the banks of the Gariep might be cultivated successfully in some places on the same principle.

27.—This evening I arrived at the drostdy of Clan William, after a tedious journey, without any occurrence worthy of remark, through a country already sufficiently known from the descriptions of Barrow and Lichtenstein.

* A species of bustard.

28.—Clan William is a division of the *ci-devant* district of Tulbagh, now Worcester. The drostdy is situated on a stream formerly called Jan-Distel's River. Besides the Deputy Landdrost's house, and offices, the village consists of only about half-a-dozen houses. The present magistrate is a Captain Synnot, one of the Irish party of settlers who were originally located in this vicinity.

Accompanied by my hospitable friend Mr. Bergh, who resides at this place, I rode out this morning to see the location of the Irish settlers. It was about half-an-hour's ride from the village, and occupied a little dale called Kleine-Vallei. We passed through the entire location, and found only one settler of the name of Shaw remaining, out of the whole original party of 350 souls; the rest have been partly removed to Albany, and partly scattered in various other parts of the Colony. It is indeed a most extraordinary circumstance, that such a number of people should have been set down in this place, which is barely sufficient for the competent subsistence of two boor's families. There did not appear to me to be above forty acres of land fit for cultivation in the whole place. The foundation of a house begun by the eccentric and speculative Mr. Parker, the original head of the Irish emigrants, was a melancholy memorial of the entire failure and dispersion of this party.

Having heard of an industrious Hottentot, who possessed a small location in this vicinity, I prevailed on Mr. Bergh to accompany me thither. We reached it after an arduous ascent into the Cedar mountains, in a nook of which it is situate. The proprietor (Abraham Zwarts) showed us his whole premises with pride and pleasure. His farm consists of about fifty-four acres, three of which are sown with wheat. Besides this he raises annually about 100lb. of tobacco, and has upwards of 200 fruit trees in bearing, the produce of which he dries and sells at the drostdy. His live-stock amounted to sixteen head of cattle, twenty goats, and forty

sheep. His family consisted of a little colony of more than twenty-four children, and grandchildren,—all of whom, so far as their years admit, assist in the cultivation of the little farm, and are supported and clothed by its produce.

This is, perhaps, the only instance of a Hottentot having obtained a grant of land in the Colony; and the circumstances are curious and worthy of being commemorated, to evince what might be anticipated from Hottentot industry, if that long oppressed race received due encouragement to exert themselves. Zwarts had been permitted by the deputy landdrost Bergh, to occupy this wild place, which no boor then considered worth the asking for, and had made considerable improvement upon it, when, upon the arrival of the settlers, he was warned to evacuate it, in order that it might be added to their location; and he would have been then unceremoniously dispossessed, except for the laudable humanity of Mr. Parker and Captain Synnot, who represented the hardship of the case to the Colonial Government, and obtained for the poor man a full grant of the place, on perpetual quit-rent. The respectable appearance of Zwarts and his family, and the evidences of their industry every where apparent, prove how well the favour of Government has been in this instance bestowed, and leads us to regret the more, that it should be a singular and solitary instance of such favour shown to the Aborigines of the country. How can industry or improvement be expected from a class of people long degraded into bondsmen, and systematically prevented from emerging from that condition?

I spent the forenoon at the drostdy. Its situation is very warm, under the skirts of the Cedarberg. Oranges and many other fruits are raised here in great perfection, but the general capabilities of the place, and the resources of the neighbouring country, are but limited. The Oliphant's River, which is the principal one in the district, is not capable, on account of the

bar at its mouth, of being entered, even by small craft; and Lambert's Bay, the nearest place to the drostdy where goods can be landed, is very open, and exposed to the north-west gales. Should it ever become, however, the seat of government for an independent district, this village may in time probably acquire some population, and become, like similar places, a mart of mechanical labour and provincial traffic. It is distant about 200 miles from Cape Town.

30.—The country between Clan William and Cape Town is so well known from the descriptions of former travellers, that I shall not detain the reader by any observations upon it, nor with the trifling incidents of a journey over beaten ground. In order to visit the Bays of St. Helena and Saldanha, I made a considerable deviation from the direct route, and reached the former in the course of the 30th. I found here Lieutenant Pedder, of the navy, who conducts a whale fishery for some merchants in Cape Town. His success had this season been very indifferent. Seven fish only had been killed, which would not defray the expenses of the establishment. It is the black whale which frequents this coast, producing each, from ten to fifteen leagers (a measure of 152 gallons) of oil. The whales are all females, who seek the unfrequented bays to calve, and since the fishery has been actively prosecuted at the Cape, they have been gradually deserting its shores. Mr. Pedder mentioned to me a singular circumstance which had occurred in this bay a few months before. A prodigious shoal of sharks and other fish ran on shore and died on the beach, which they covered for an extent of about four miles. Mr. Pedder obtained eighteen leagers of sharks' oil, and, had he had hands sufficient, might have had fifty times as much. A similar occurrence took place in Table Bay many years ago, and on both occasions the sea had previously appeared from the beach of a blood red colour. Whether this phenomenon, and the consequent rushing of the fish upon the beach, might be occasioned by the existence of any poisonous matter in the sea, I leave to naturalists to determine.

St. Helena Bay is well sheltered from the south and west, but exposed to the north. It has good anchorage, and a small creek on its southern side may, I conceive, be safely resorted to as a harbour for small coasting vessels; but the unproductive nature of the adjoining country (except for grazing) renders this bay of far less importance than it would be on the south-eastern coast of the Colony. The Berg River which falls into it, though a considerable stream, admits only boats over the bar.

31.—At an early hour this morning, I reached Saldanha Bay, and coasted it from the northern to the southern extremity, where the government has a small establishment. Any particular description of this bay, after what has been written upon the subject by such a competent judge as Mr. Barrow, would be more than superfluous. Saldanha Bay is known to be far the best, or rather the only good *harbour* in South Africa. It is, in fact, one of the safest and most capacious havens in the world. Had nature placed it where Table Bay is, or poured the Berg River into it, in place of St. Helena Bay, it would have enhanced beyond calculation the value of the whole Colony. As it now is, with scarcely fresh water on its shores sufficient for a single family, its other advantages are completely neutralized. All projects for obtaining water, either by boring, or by digging a canal from the Berg River, have hitherto been considered impracticable. Whether these obstacles may not yet be surmounted by some achievement of modern science, remains to be proved. Want of water is the great defect of the whole of this part of the coast, and will for ever doom it to a scanty and scattered population.

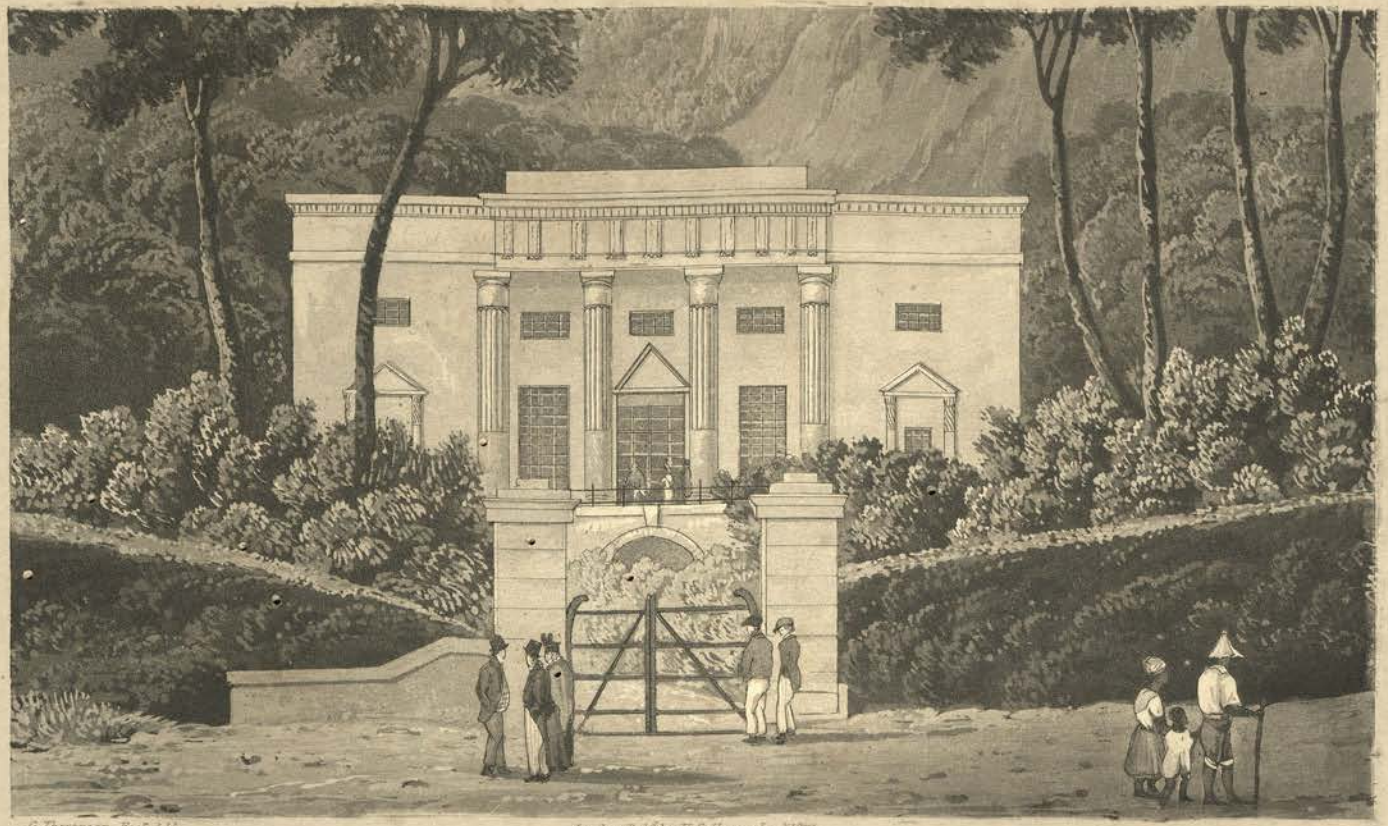
In the afternoon I arrived at Groote-Post, a farm established by Government, for the encouragement of agriculture, and where much attention has been paid, and, as I understand, with considerable success, to the improvement of the breed of live stock in the Colony. There is a pretty comfortable

house on this farm, which the Governor usually occupies as a hunting-lodge in the sporting season.

I spent the night at Klaiver-Vallei, the residence of Mr. Duckett, an enterprising agriculturist, where I found every thing in the arrangement of his large establishment so much in the style of a substantial English farmer, that, except for the predominance of black servants, I could almost have conceived myself among the scenes of my childhood. Mr. Duckett had, however, found it expedient to adapt the system of English farming to the circumstances of the country and climate, by various modifications suggested by the experience of the elder colonists.

SEPT. 1.—Called at the Moravian Institution of Groene-Kloof, and examined the establishment, with which I was, on the whole, much gratified; though its external appearance is by no means so pleasing as that of Gnadenthal; nor is there, seemingly, that degree of enterprize and excitement among the Hottentots, which have recently been developed among their countrymen at most of the missionary establishments in the eastern districts of the Colony. Groene-Kloof is, nevertheless, a very praiseworthy establishment, and has proved, by the amelioration it has gradually introduced in both the character and circumstances of the natives under its superintendence, a great blessing to that part of the Colony.

At mid-day I reached Mr. Van Reenen's, at Brak-Fonteyn, where finding two gentlemen of my acquaintance on a visit from Cape Town, I accepted with pleasure a seat in their carriage, and arrived in the evening at my own house, after a brief but arduous excursion of about five weeks.



G. Thompson Esq.r del.t

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VIEW OF THE MANSION OF D. VAN REENEN ESQ.r

PART III.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH INHABITANTS; ON THE ADAPTATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR FURTHER COLONIZATION; AND ON ITS AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL CAPABILITIES.

CHAPTER I.

ESTIMATE OF THE DUTCH-AFRICAN CHARACTER.—VENDUE MEETING.—WEDDING PARTY.—APATHY AND AVARICE.—THE SEVERAL CLASSES OF FARMERS.—DUTCH LAW OF SUCCESSION.—EXTENSION OF THE COLONIAL BOUNDARIES.—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE POOR AND THE AFFLUENT GRAZIERS.

THIRTY years ago, Mr. Barrow drew a powerful, but somewhat overcharged picture of the Cape-Dutch boors. The facts that he adduced were no doubt correct,—the features that he pourtrayed were real;—but the delineation was, nevertheless, an unfair representation of the colonists, because

the traveller had only seen them under an unfavourable aspect. Their character has many redeeming points, which a writer in Mr. Barrow's circumstances could have no opportunity of observing; while, on the other hand, the unhappy situation of affairs, and the feelings of mutual hostility between the victors and the vanquished, rendered at that time every unfavourable quality of the latter more prominent and provoking.

These circumstances, together with the generous indignation inspired by the cruel oppressions inflicted upon the Hottentots and Bushmen, in behalf of whom Mr. Barrow has so powerfully pleaded, are sufficient, in my opinion, to account for his too great severity towards the Dutch colonists, without ascribing to that distinguished writer any intentional injustice.

Dr. Lichtenstein, on the other hand, appears to have been led by political opposition, and other causes, to contradict Mr. Barrow's account, on many occasions, without just cause; and to represent the farmers as a much more polished and praiseworthy race of men than they could at that time, or even now, be fairly alleged to be.

The truth seems to lie between these conflicting accounts. The Cape-Dutch colonists, judging from my own observation, which has been pretty extensive, are neither generally so brutal as they appear in the pages of Barrow, nor so refined as represented by Lichtenstein. In fact, these intelligent writers seem rather to have taken the two extremes, than the average character. That the back-country boors of former times were many of them as savage, indolent, and unprincipled as Mr. Barrow has described, cannot be questioned; and the facts I have stated, and those I shall yet state, will prove that to this day *some* of them are in no respect improved. But even the *Vee-Boors* in general have many good and pleasing qualities, and their worst are, in my apprehension, clearly to be ascribed to the many disadvantageous circumstances under which they are placed; to their being thinly scattered over an immense territory, out of the reach of religious instruction,

or moral restraint; to the vicious and corrupt character of the old Dutch government, by which the interests of the community were constantly sacrificed for those of the company and its servants; to the inefficient police, which not only allowed but encouraged and abetted a system of unrighteous aggression against the native tribes; and last, not least, to the influence of slavery, which, wherever it prevails, inevitably deteriorates and pollutes the whole mass of society. Yet, with all these disadvantages, the very rudest class of the Cape boors seem to be in many respects superior to the half-savage back settlers, in almost every quarter of the Spanish or Anglo-American colonies. I shall now illustrate these remarks by facts of recent date, in which I shall "nought extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

On my visit to Struys Bay, near Cape Agulhas, in 1822, I had occasion to pass a night at a boor's house where a party of farmers, some of them from a considerable distance, had come to attend the sale of the wreck of the Grace. A public sale of any importance usually collects a number of the inhabitants together, as much with the view of meeting company, as of making a bargain; for in the country districts it is only on such occasions that they have an opportunity of meeting in parties, and of indulging those social propensities which are common to all men, rustic or refined. On the present occasion the festivity was indeed rustic and even barbarous to a degree I never witnessed among the colonists in the remoter districts. An ox was killed, and the carcase, mangled in a most disgusting manner, was cut up, and part, yet warm from the blood, thrown into a pot and boiled to rags: this was heaped upon the table in huge pewter-plates; and at the same time about one hundred pounds of boiled rice was served up to the company, who consisted of about thirty men, with their wives and daughters. The men seated themselves round the table, and with their hunting-knives fell voraciously upon the victuals, each helping himself as he could, without

either offering a seat to the females, or inviting them to partake, till their own hunger was satiated. After dinner the boors drank raw brandy until they were half tipsy, and then commenced dancing, which they carried on amidst loud talking, vulgar jesting, and obstreperous laughter the whole night long.

Such scenes are, I believe, not unfrequent among the ruder class of boors, but they do not usually lead to scenes of any great disorder, nor are they, perhaps, more discreditable or immoral than the vulgar festivity of the peasantry in Holland or Germany. Habitual drunkenness is not a vice so prevalent among the African farmers, as it was even among English gentlemen less than 100 years ago; and although the birth-day festivals, even of the richest and most polished class of the Cape-Dutch gentry, are still but too frequently disgraced by hard drinking and riotous mirth; and the *pokaalie* cup, like the "blessed bear of Bradwardine," too often drowns both reason and refinement, yet we, who have ourselves been so recently reclaimed from the remains of the old German taste for gross debauchery, have little right to view these remote colonists, on that account, as brutal barbarians. To evince, however, that I have no intention of cloaking their faults, or concealing their worst excesses, but rather, by their exposure, to shame them out of them, I shall mention another scene of riotous merriment which I myself witnessed.

On my return from the Cango, in 1822, I arrived at the house of a rich corn and wine boor, not 100 miles from Cape Town, who had been recently married, and who, in honour of the happy occasion, had that day given a grand ball and entertainment to a numerous party of his friends and neighbours. It was evening when I reached the house; and being known to the host, and travelling in company, indeed, with one of his neighbours, I was most hospitably welcomed. The dancing,

which had commenced before our arrival, was continued till past midnight, and the female part of the company conducted themselves with great propriety and decorum; but the gentlemen had evidently been indulging far too freely in the bottle, and were much more noisy and riotous, than pleasant or entertaining. About one o'clock in the morning the company sat down to a splendid and luxurious supper; after which the wine again circulated profusely among the male guests, and those who were disposed to sobriety were absolutely compelled to drink by the more boisterous of the party, who also began to play off rude practical jokes, such as exploding squibs and crackers among the dancers, &c. Wearied out by a long ride the preceding day, and with a surfeit of this rough horse play, I stole off, with one or two of my fellow-travellers, about five o'clock in the morning, and took refuge in an outhouse, in hopes of there getting a little repose before we continued our journey. But we reckoned "without our host;" for, as soon as our absence was discovered, a numerous party of the Bacchanals sallied forth in search of us, and dragged us by main force back to the hall. A second time we made our escape—but in vain. Our resistance only provoked these riotous fellows to more mischievous persecution. They got hold of an old cannon which happened to be about the place, loaded it with powder, and stuffed it to the muzzle with wet straw, and then fired it into the room where we were just sinking into sleep,—breaking with the concussion, all the windows to shivers, and very nearly shaking down the roof about our ears. Finding it useless to contend with madmen, we returned to the party, who continued their *vrolykheid* (as they call it) without intermission, till morning, when we were allowed to depart, glad to escape from such boisterous hospitality.

In both these instances, little as I was disposed to admire the taste of African joviality, I could not but allow, that, with all its riotous extravagance,

there was less disposition to brawling or quarrelling, than would probably have been witnessed among our own countrymen in similar circumstances,—and that good breeding, far more than right feeling, was wanting.

The fact is, travellers, for the most part, are too apt to generalize hastily, and to give their readers erroneous impressions, by selecting a few striking scenes or characters as illustrations of the general state of manners and morals among the people whom they visit; and the picture is favourable or otherwise, according to the temper, talents, taste, or extent of observation of the traveller. I might easily have been led myself, by the scenes I have just described, or by a few instances of unprincipled or unfeeling conduct, to form a much less favourable estimate than I have done of the Dutch colonists, had my experience been confined to one or two brief excursions among them. But after having visited every district of the Colony, and mingled familiarly with all classes of the population, and with the rudest and remotest of the back settlers, I do not hesitate to characterize them generally as a shrewd, prudent, persevering, good-humoured, hospitable, and respectable class of men. That there are among them individuals undeserving of all or any of these epithets, is no more discreditable to them as a body, than the existtence of a few swindlers and ruffians among English farmers, to the body of our respectable yeomanry. The African boors have, indeed, some general defects, from which our yeomanry are free; but these, as I have already observed, may justly be ascribed to the political and moral disadvantages under which they labour.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the poorer class of corn boors near Cape Agulhas, and other parts of the Caledon district, are many of them more rude in their manners, and more knavish and immoral in their general character, than even the wandering graziers of the northern frontier. The following incident will exemplify this, and at the same time serve to show

how unjust it may often be for travellers to act upon the maxim "From one judge of the rest."

Mr. P., a friend of mine, travelling into the interior, was riding past a farm-house, near the Zonderend River, when he was furiously assaulted by about a score of dogs belonging to the place, in consequence of which he was thrown from his horse, and had his thigh-bone broken. The boor, a young man of the name of Vanderwalt, came to the door, and seeing the accident, stood gazing at a distance, without offering to assist the gentleman who was lying on the ground, until he was called forward, and requested by him to help him into the house. Mr. P. then asked him to send off a messenger instantly for the district surgeon at the village of Caledon, about three hours distant. Vanderwalt replied that he had no one who could be spared, except a slave, who was at work in the field, and whom, with some hesitation, he agreed to send for. After waiting, however, about an hour, no slave appeared; the young fellow sitting all the while, quietly smoking his pipe, beside the agonized traveller. At length the latter demanded whether he meant to send any one or not, or, if his slave was not at hand, why he did not ride off for the doctor himself? To this the farmer, taking the pipe from his mouth, replied with great *sang-froid*, "Jaa, Mynheer, ik kan zelvers ryden—als Mynheer zal my daarom ordentelyk betalen." "Yes, Sir, I can ride myself, if you will pay me handsomely." Finding himself at the fellow's mercy, Mr. P. suppressed his indignation at his unfeeling avarice, paid him what he demanded, (about four times the hire of a man and horse for the distance,) and Vanderwalt rode off for the doctor.

"Now," said the gentleman to whom this incident occurred, "had I been a traveller passing hastily through the country, I should most probably have taken this as a fair average specimen of the colonial character; but having previously travelled through a great part of the interior, and been in habits

of almost daily intercourse with the inhabitants, I am bound in candour to say, that I do not believe there are a dozen individuals in the Colony, who, in similar circumstances, would have acted like this fellow Vanderwalt, or who would not regard with scorn and indignation any person so acting."

My own experience certainly does not contradict this favourable testimony. I am satisfied that there is a great deal of hearty kindness, and substantial worth, in the character of the Cape-Dutch colonists. Notwithstanding the evil influence of slavery, and of their rancorous hostilities with the Bushmen and Caffers, they are not *generally* a depraved or inhuman race of men. Neither are they so indolent as they have generally been represented. Many of the farms that have been for any length of time occupied upon a secure tenure, exhibit proofs of a prudent, persevering industry, not unworthy of their Batavian progenitors. In the interior districts, where less agricultural enterprize is visible, it is to be considered that the great, I might say, the only source of profit, hitherto, has been the breeding of sheep and cattle, which necessarily induces habits somewhat unsettled and averse to steady labour; and, besides this, on the Caffer frontier, the colonists have been so frequently driven from their dwellings, that it is only since the Keiskamma became the boundary, that they have really begun to consider themselves as secure and permanent occupants of their farms. But wherever they have been settled for any considerable time, in favourable situations, their industry is, generally speaking, not less apparent than in the Sneeuwberg,—which pleased Mr. Barrow so much, that he was led to regard the inhabitants of that district as a class of colonists superior to the rest of their countrymen.

Having said this much upon the character of the Dutch colonists, I shall add a few observations on their present circumstances, which have undergone, within the last twenty years, an alteration, I apprehend, much more remarkable than their manners.

Twenty years ago the vine growers were considered the most thriving class of agriculturists; next to them the corn farmers; and the graziers were placed lowest in the scale. Various causes have, within these few years, combined to modify, if not to reverse this gradation.

The abolition of the Slave Trade, which enhanced so greatly the price of slave labour, by which the vine is exclusively cultivated; the depreciation of the colonial currency, which fell most severely upon the old capitalists; the increase of taxes, both general and provincial; the fluctuation of the demand for Cape wines in the European market; and the unsteady measures (I regret to add) of the Home Government in that point,—which, after holding out such encouragement for the production of Cape wines, as led to a large investment of capital in increasing the cultivation, has ultimately left it to compete with foreign wines in the English market, under great disadvantages;—these, and various other circumstances, have contributed to weigh heavily on the wine farmers, and greatly to impair their general prosperity.

Of these various disadvantages, one of the most severe, though, perhaps, not the most obvious, is the necessity of employing slave labour. Now, although a particular slave, from some superior qualifications, may be productive to his owner, (and it is impossible, so long as free servants are scarce, and consequently little under the control of their employers, to carry on any agricultural establishment to advantage, without vesting a capital in that description of labour,) yet it is an unquestionable fact, that the colonists are suffering more or less, in proportion as they are possessed of slaves; or, in other words, are receiving a smaller return from their capital, than if it were otherwise invested: and there are few slave-owners, beyond the lines which surround Cape Town, who, after estimating the cost of their agricultural property, can say that they receive an adequate return from their capital. On the other hand, Hottentot labour is, generally speaking, hired at a rate much below its comparative value; a consequence of the very injurious restrictions,

which that race have to contend with. This circumstance, along with the higher rate of profit derived from the breeding of stock, accounts for the superior success of the graziers, in spite of a limited market, the impolitic restrictions on the internal commerce of the Colony, and the monopolizing regulations of the Burgher Senate.

The vine growers have (either belonging to themselves, or upon loan,) large capitals invested in slaves, buildings, vineyards, fustage, draught-cattle, and pasture lands; and are consequently enabled to live at a rate, which might be considered by a stranger, who does not perceive their minute economy, to be extravagant. But if a very few, who have peculiar advantages, or make a superior description of wine, are excepted, they do not receive the average rate of profit on their capital, nor anything like it. Their early habits, and the impossibility of finding purchasers for their estates, are the principal causes of their perseverance at the present low prices of their produce. They can, by means of a very large capital, pay their taxes and live, but that is all. If they do not encroach on their capital, it is only owing to an economy, and an attention to petty gains, which no English family, with half their means, would pretend for a moment to cope with them in.

The profits of the corn farmers, within a moderate distance of the Cape market, where they have not been affected by the late years of blight, are probably somewhat higher; but the difference cannot be very great, as there is nothing of moment, except the transfer duty, (which, to be sure, is a serious obstacle of itself,) to prevent the flux and reflux of capital between these two employments.

The stock farmers, or graziers, on the frontier, having acquired few wants, and consequently being less exposed to indirect taxation, and having almost an unlimited range of pasturage, are accumulating capital rapidly.

The inhabitants of the middle districts, prevented by the distance from the Cape market, by old habits, and by the prohibition of direct exportation

from the ports nearest to them, from turning their attention to the production of grain, depend either on the sale of the produce of their cattle, or on their labour, and that of their slaves and Hottentots, in cutting wood, tapping aloes, &c. for sale at Cape Town,—or on supplying the stock farmers with waggons, wines, spirits, fruits, and imported articles; and many of them, therefore, may be more properly designated as carriers than farmers.

There are other two circumstances that have hitherto tended greatly to prevent the accumulation of capital, and to retard the general prosperity of the Colony. These are, first the Dutch law of succession, by which all the children are entitled to an equal share of the family property; and, secondly, the progressive extension of the colonial boundaries.

The first of these causes operates in the following manner. Suppose a farmer leaves, at his decease, an estate well-stocked, and in a course of improvement, under judicious management, with a sufficient capital. We will suppose that he has also realized two or three thousand rix-dollars of surplus cash, which is placed in the bank, or lent out at interest,—a supposition, however, too favourable to happen in the generality of cases. If he leaves only one or two children, who are out of their minority, the property is easily divided, and the estate may remain in the possession of one of them without any great incumbrance, or injurious retrenchment. But if, as is very frequently the case, there is a large family of children, and several of them still minors, the whole property must be exposed to public sale, in order that it may be realized in money to effect its division into, perhaps, eight or ten equal shares. By these means the family farm either falls into new hands, or if purchased back by one of the heirs, it is now reoccupied, either with funds inadequate to its full cultivation, or upon capital borrowed at the rate of six, or perhaps eight, per cent interest; which presses as a dead weight upon the new possessor, probably, for half his lifetime.

The rest of the sons either purchase farms upon credit, and enter upon them in the same embarrassed state; or, if they cannot effect this, they migrate to the frontier districts, and become graziers.

The effect of this system is, that in the great majority of cases, whatever capital a man may acquire during his lifetime, is again entirely dispersed at his death. The means of improvement, and the progress of society, are thus continually kept in check. There is little or no gradation of ranks among the white population. Every man is a burgher by rank, and a farmer by occupation; and there is none so poor that he would not consider himself degraded by becoming the dependent of another. If a boor has a dozen sons, (no uncommon case in the Colony,) they must all be farmers. Instead of their youth being occupied in learning some useful trade or profession, they hang about their father's house, often half idle, until the family patrimony be divided, and then they disperse to establish themselves as they severally can. The few that do learn mechanical or other trades, generally abandon them as soon as they have acquired the means of stocking a farm.

The English law of primogeniture would not, however, form an effectual remedy for the evil effects of this system, so long as the boundaries of the Colony are not definitively fixed. So long as this is the case, the population will continue to extend itself, as it does at present, much beyond its real means of profitable occupation; for the wandering, half-savage life of a back country boor, will always have charms for the idle and adventurous, much beyond those of the more comfortable, but more laborious mechanic. I cannot help considering, therefore, that the policy of the Colonial Government, in extending continually the limits of the Colony, and allowing the population to expand itself unprofitably, has been equally erroneous and unfortunate.

Let us follow a little farther the career of one of these young colonists, who has learned no trade but farming, and whose portion is insufficient either

to purchase or stock a farm in any of the older districts. His usual course, we have observed, is to migrate to the frontier. A very limited capital will enable a man to begin the world as a *vee boor*. He purchases, say

An old waggon for about - -	350	rix-dollars.
A spann of ten oxen - -	150	
A horse and two mares - -	200	
Fifty cows and young cattle -	500	
Five hundred sheep and goats -	1000	
Rix-dollars	2200	(165*l.*)

The above, with a large gun, an axe, adze, and hammer, a couple of waggon-chests, a churn, a large iron pot for boiling soap, and one or two smaller ones for cooking, are all that is absolutely requisite to establish a stock farmer in South Africa.

With this property, he marries a wife, hires a family of Hottentots, and drives forth into the wilderness. Water and pasturage are his first objects. He encamps near some unoccupied fountain, pool, or river, changing his station according as necessity or inclination may require, until he at length finds some eligible spot, where he thinks he can advantageously fix himself. This spot is probably beyond the nominal boundary of the Colony, and belongs of right to the Bushman. No matter for that; the boundary can be extended,—and as for the rights of savage Bushmen, he considers that a mere jest; for Bushmen neither plant, nor sow, nor breed cattle; and now that the guns of the colonists have destroyed, or frightened away the game, and the natives are often distressed for food, their best course, in his opinion, is to become quiet servants to the white men, like their Hottentot brethren.

Reasoning thus, he takes possession of a river side, or some permanent *vley*, or fountain; or agrees with some other adventurer, like himself, to live

together for the sake of greater security, and to divide, like Lot and Abraham, the country between them. He makes interest with the local magistrate, in the meanwhile, to be allowed to occupy the tract he has fixed upon, and this being complied with, he sends in a memorial to the governor, soliciting the permanent grant of it. His application is remitted to the landdrost to be reported upon; and if the report is favourable, the land is surveyed, and granted to him and his heirs upon perpetual quit rent. Thus he is established; and if no disaster occurs, and he is not very idle or drunken, the progressive increase of his stock, beyond the consumption of his family and servants, will probably render him, eventually, a *vee-boor* of respectable property. I have met with many boors who had begun the world in this way, in the possession of numerous herds and flocks. The soap and butter, made by the females, is sent to market once or twice a year at the drostdy; and two or three hundred rix-dollars, made in this way, suffices to purchase clothes for the family, and to pay the taxes. Corn is seldom raised, or bread eaten, by them; but brandy (the only luxury besides tobacco in which the poorer boors indulge,) is purchased from *smouses*, or hawkers, who traverse the remotest skirts of the Colony with waggon-loads of this detestable beverage.

It may be said that the white population increases more rapidly, by thus spreading itself extensively over the country, than if confined within narrower limits. This is no doubt true; but the population is far less valuable,—less orderly, intelligent, and industrious, than it would be, if the enterprize of the poorer classes were otherwise directed. If the limits of the Colony had not been so injudiciously enlarged, the population, in the older districts, would have, ere now, assumed a much more compact and effective shape. It would have devolved into various classes and gradations, all supporting each other, and accelerating the general prosperity. A greater division of labour would have taken place, to the vast benefit of the community,—in place of one man being at once farmer, waggon-maker, blacksmith, carpenter, and so forth, as

is still, to a great extent, the case. Competition would have sharpened industry. The spendthrift and the idle would have sunk to indigence; but indigence would have forced them to labour, and thus to become useful members of society. The larger farms, near the coast, would have been broken down, and cultivated to more advantage. The country towns would have become more populous and thriving, and other villages would have been built. Education would have been more easily attainable, and religious instruction and general knowledge far more effectually disseminated. Free labour would have been found cheaper and more efficient than that of slaves, and would have led to the gradual disuse and final annihilation of that fertile source of misery and crime.

Such, in my apprehension, are a few of the advantages that have been unfortunately lost to the present generation, by permitting the colonial population to disperse itself, as fast as it increased, into the wilderness; and for which, the partial advantages resulting to the migrating class, but very slightly compensate. I say nothing, at present, of the oppression and injury inflicted by this system upon the native tribes. Many facts and observations in the preceding part of the work, render this point sufficiently obvious.

Even among the graziers, however, though recently far the most prosperous class of the community, great wealth is seldom acquired, without the aid of commensurate capital to begin with. While such adventurers, as I have described, are struggling half their lives in comparative indigence; living in their waggons, or in miserable reed huts, without furniture, without bread,—destitute of almost everything that an Englishman considers comforts; hunting the wild game, to save the consumption of their flocks, and feeding their Hottentot or Bushmen servants, with the flesh of the Quagha, or wild ass; while the poorer class of Vee-boors live in this rude and roving manner, the substantial graziers in the old and settled districts, such as the Sneeuwberg, Tarka, Bruintjes-hoogte, &c., have many of them excellent houses, commodiously

furnished in the African fashion, with well-stocked gardens and vineyards, and are probably the most prosperous and independent class of farmers at present in the Colony; and some of them, especially such as reside near the drostdies, are by no means deficient either in general information or good manners. As a contrast to the preceding account of the mode of life among the more indigent sort, I subjoin the description of a family of this latter class, from the unpublished notes of my friend Mr. P., (a gentleman already alluded to in this chapter,) who travelled through the part of the Colony referred to, in 1822. I visited the same house the following year, in passing through the Sneeuwberg, and can bear testimony that the description is correct, and the praise well merited.

"Travelling through the mountains, we reached the place of a rich vee-boor, or grazier, a little after sunset. We found the house full of guests; but were, nevertheless, very cordially welcomed; and the night being piercingly cold, I requested permission to bring our bedding from the waggon, and to spread it in the *voor-huis*, or hall, on account of the delicate health of part of my family. But the *huis-vrouw* smiled at this proposal, and told me that we should have a bed-room to ourselves, and as many feather beds as we chose to make use of.

"After eating a hearty supper, we retired to rest, and found that a spacious bed-room, containing three very handsome curtained beds, was appropriated for us. Where the rest of the company were disposed of I could not well guess. There were eight-and-twenty guests besides ourselves, all respectable-looking African farmers, or travellers, chiefly with their wives and families. I don't think there were more than two bed-rooms, besides the one we occupied, though the house was otherwise a good and substantial one. I conclude that the women slept in these, and the men, (in the common way of the country,) in shakedowns in the hall, which was large enough, certainly, to serve as dormitory for a hundred persons in that fashion. We were accom-

modated (as being strangers, and English,) with the best bed-room, and had for our share four or five feather-beds, besides a profusion of blankets and quilted coverlets. These Sneeuwberg farmers seem to be in no danger of *starving*, (as a Scotchman would say,) either for hunger or cold.

" Next morning at daybreak we had coffee, which the others drank without admixture or addition; but sugar, cream, bread, butter, and bill tongue, were set down to us English. How they came to understand our tastes so well, I don't know; for I should imagine few of our countrymen have yet passed that way.

" About ten o'clock, some more company arrived, whom I found to be neighbours and relatives, come to spend the day (it being Sunday) with our patriarchal host. We were soon afterwards invited to attend their religious service in the hall, round which the whole company were decently seated; and I was glad to see that the slaves and Hottentots belonging to the household, were also freely admitted. After singing some hymns, and reading some portions of scripture, our landlord addressed the company in an exhortation, apparently extempore, of about half an hour's length. It appeared to me very sensible and appropriate, and, in fact, much superior to the ordinary run of common-place sermons, either in Europe or Africa. It was listened to with every appearance of serious and devout attention.

" After this very becoming service, all the company sat down to a plentiful and cheerful repast, consisting chiefly of stewed meats, according to the Dutch fashion, but very well cooked, and varied with baked fruits, pastry, pickles, and salads, in abundance. The spoons, and some of the other articles, were silver, the capacious tureens of well-burnished pewter, the plates china and English delf, with napkins, &c. There was wine, but glasses were only placed for the men, who drank of it very moderately,—the women not at all.

" The conversation turned chiefly on their domestic concerns,—the late severe rains, and the damage occasioned by them,—the news of the Drostdy,

(Graaff Reinet,)—the praises of their landdrost, Mr. Stockenstrom, and the respective merits of their late Dutch, and their new Scotch clergyman. On the latter point some anxious references were made to me; for, although I had not seen their new pastor, they conceived that, coming from Scotland, I ought necessarily to know his talents and reputation.

"I left them in the afternoon, much pleased with the good-humour and good sense that seemed to prevail among these rustic inhabitants of the mountains. There was nothing very *Arcadian*, certainly, about their manners. All was plain, common prudence, and every-day life—nothing *poetical* to elevate or refine—nothing *political* to stimulate or excite. But they seemed to live a respectable, quiet life, in the bosom of peace and plenty, without being oppressed by any very engrossing cares of the present, or any deep anxiety for the future. There was nothing slovenly, harsh, or unbecoming about them—such as former travellers have described, and such as may still be found among some of the more indigent and less instructed back-country boors. Their appearance was decent and comfortable; their manners frank, hospitable, and courteous. Notwithstanding the damages occasioned throughout the district by the blight and the rains, rustic plenty was apparent everywhere. Even the numerous slaves and Hottentots of the establishment looked plump and void of care. And well they might; for their master (as I afterwards learned) is not only one of the wealthiest, but also one of the worthiest men, and best masters in the Sneeuwberg. His 'substance' might almost rival that of Job and Jacob in their prosperous days. He had 13,000 sheep, and about 2000 horned cattle, besides horses, corn, &c. He has only one son, and, notwithstanding his liberal hospitality, has saved much money; and this I am told he generally lends out to his poorer neighbours *without interest*, it being a maxim with him, that it is *more profitable* to assist one's friends, than to hoard money by usury.

"Men like this are not numerous in any country, and every wealthy vee-boor does not act like Schalk Burger. But he is not a solitary instance of this character in Southern Africa; and where such men are found in the walks of common life, the mass of the community, we may feel assured, cannot be altogether so brutal and degraded, as some English writers have too unqualifiedly represented them.

"The hospitality for which the African farmers have always been celebrated, still exists undecayed in the Sneeuwberg. Not only this family, but every other I visited in that quarter, positively refused any remuneration for lodging or provisions; and many of them made us presents of loaves of fine bread, dried fruit, comfits, &c., though they had never seen nor heard of us before, and knew neither our name nor residence."

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF THE PARTIAL FAILURE OF THE ALBANY SETTLERS.—ERRONEOUS NOTIONS RESPECTING THE CLIMATE.—INADEQUATE EXTENT OF THE LOCATIONS.—MISTAKES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS.—CONDITION OF THE SETTLERS IN 1823.—SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THEIR RELIEF.—MEASURES OF GOVERNMENT.—REVIVAL OF THE SETTLEMENT, AND ITS PROSPECTS IN 1826.

THE origin of the British emigration to Southern Africa, and the progress of the settlement down to the close of its second year, have been amply detailed by the "Civil Servant;" and a particular description of the territory in which the emigrants were located, and of the severe distresses to which many of them were subjected, owing to the destruction of their crops

and gardens by a calamitous succession of blights and hurricanes, has been given to the public in Mr. Pringle's little tract, published in 1824.*

It is not my purpose to retrace the ground already trodden by these authors,—still less to involve myself in the maze of provincial politics, by entering minutely into the complicated disputes of the settlers with the local magistracy and the Colonial Government. But having visited the new settlement at two different periods, (first in January 1821, and again in May 1823,) and attended with much interest to its subsequent progress, I shall briefly throw together in this chapter the result of my inquiries and observations on this interesting topic.†

The general policy of this emigration, and the conduct of the British Government in regard to it, appear to me to have been animadverted on by the "Civil Servant," and others, with an undue degree of severity. That the scheme Government adopted was in some respects defective, cannot now be doubted; and it is not denied, that the class of emigrants sent out were, in many cases, ill selected. But the propriety of the measure, as a matter of national policy, is equally unquestionable, as that its more immediate purposes were liberal and beneficent; nor can its partial failure, with any justice, be exclusively ascribed either to its original projectors, to the character of the emigrants, or to the unfitness of the country for colonization. A variety of causes combined to produce this unfortunate result. The plan of allotting only 100 acres of land for each family, or each adult male carried out by the

* "Some Account of the Present State of the English Settlers in Albany, South Africa. London: Underwood."

† The vignette prefixed to this chapter will give the reader some clearer idea of the scenery of Albany, and of the picturesque cottages with which the superior class of settlers have now, in many places, embellished it. This little sketch is copied from a drawing of *Glendour*, on the Riet-Fonteyn, a few miles from the mouth of the Kowie, the residence of Thomas Philipps, Esq.—a gentleman whose intelligence, urbanity, and kindly spirit, add the charm of English sociality and refinement to the pastoral seclusion of an African farm.

heads of parties, was found upon trial to be incompatible with the character of the soil and climate. The emigrants being selected in a great measure from the class of distressed artisans, and the indigent and unruly population of the great towns and manufacturing districts, were in general but ill adapted for the occupation of a new country. The plan of the large joint-stock parties was ill devised, and proved a fertile source of disunion. The heads or leaders were in many instances merely nominal, and neither in property nor intelligence superior to their followers. There were among them also, a few presumptuous, litigious, and unprincipled individuals; and almost all had imbibed, in a greater or less degree, far too sanguine notions of the general fertility of the country. All these were circumstances, no doubt, sufficiently prolific of failure and disappointment, and such as the ablest and most experienced magistracy would have found it no easy matter to obviate or overcome. But when to these predisposing causes of dissension and discontent were added the total and repeated destruction of the crops by blight, and the general dissatisfaction of the people with their provincial rulers,—it can scarcely excite surprise, that the progress of the new settlement has been but little satisfactory to all parties. The marvel is, indeed, all things considered, that matters have not been tenfold worse than they actually are.

About the close of 1823, when in addition to the total failure of the wheat crops, for three successive seasons, was superadded the destruction of the houses and gardens of the colonists to a great extent, by an excessive deluge of rain, many of the principal settlers, exasperated at the same time by what they considered political grievances, began altogether to despair of success, and were only prevented from abandoning the country, by the expected visit of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, which the majority calculated (somewhat too sanguinely) would lead to an immediate amelioration of their circumstances.

That there was ample room for improvement, both in the original scheme

of their location, and in the system which the provincial functionaries had hitherto pursued towards them, was indeed sufficiently obvious. The opinions which the majority of the settlers themselves entertained on the former of these points, and in which intelligent men acquainted with the Colony now generally concur, were very distinctly stated at the time, in a paper drawn up by a gentleman of talent and experience, residing in the district, and which, before I offer any farther remarks of my own, I shall here introduce to the notice of the reader,—without professing, however, absolutely to coincide with the writer's opinions in every particular point.

"A very erroneous and injurious impression has been of late years conveyed to Europe with regard to the capabilities of this Colony. This has been, in some degree, the natural reaction of the too sanguine expectations excited in the public mind, when its attention was first turned in this direction; but it has, in a much greater degree, arisen from a common mistake, in considering as natural and insurmountable, obstacles which were in a great measure accidental or artificial. We have suffered three years of unprecedented scarcity; yet as corn never was, nor ever can be our sole, or even our main dependance, the stock and capital of such of the inhabitants as were enabled to employ, in sufficient quantity, the natural resources of the soil, have continued rapidly to encrease. And even in the district occupied by the emigrants of 1820, where the population has been unnaturally condensed, where many artificial barriers to the attainment of competence have been superadded to the scarcity of food, the price of labour is still as high as in any part of the Colony.

"The travellers who have given accounts of the country, have generally, perhaps, over-rated its value; but it is essential to observe, that they have not so much over-rated, as mistaken it. The advantages it possesses are of an order totally distinct from those of other colonies; and however accurate the descriptions and general statements of the writers have been, it is too evident

to a resident, that the theories founded upon them have proceeded upon prejudices, which nothing but local experience could eradicate. They have applied the theories of English agriculture to a country, where it might be shown, from their own facts, to be altogether inapplicable. Mr. Barrow may be truly said to have left little room for future description, as far as his personal observation extended; yet no one of local experience could join with him in recommending any compulsory mode of condensing the population, of altering the system of farming, or of inclosing farms, in a country, where, in the present stage of advancement, land, in less quantity than 4000 acres, is scarcely considered as worth holding, and where its value, according to the usual mode of occupation, little exceeds the actual costs of the improvements which the farmer is forced, upon his own account, to make upon it.

"It is a general observation, that in all new countries where labour is scarce, and pasturage abundant, the most natural, because the most profitable, employment of the occupant is grazing. This even holds where produce may be raised with facility and certainty, and where the demand for it is unlimited. In the eastern part of this Colony, not only is pasturage abundant, and labour and water, and spots fit for cultivation scarce, but the difficulty and uncertainty of raising crops are very considerable, and the means of disposing of them in any considerable quantity, totally wanting. On the other hand, the same circumstances of soil and climate which oppose agriculture, are so favourable to stock farming, that 4000 head of cattle may be here maintained with less labour and expense than would be required in North America, where winter fodder is necessary, for the support of ten.

"The writers who have described the Colony have chiefly resided at Cape Town, and have only cursorily visited the other parts of it. Hence arises the general mistake of confounding the climate of the eastern with that of the western districts. In the latter, the high chains of mountains ensure some certainty of periodical rains; whereas in the eastern parts, although the

aggregate quantity of moisture may preserve a more constant verdure, yet the rains are so capricious in the period of their return, and in their duration, that the climates should always have been considered as totally distinct. Nature seems to have marked out at least this part of the Colony as a pastoral country; and when the drought of the climate, and our limited means of transport are considered, it becomes apparent, that any material change in the mode of occupying land, must rather be the result of the gradual increase of population and capital, than of any forcible interference on the part of Government.

"The situation of the settlers in Albany furnishes an instance too striking to be omitted, of the effects of directing emigration into new channels, and attempting to confine it within arbitrary bounds, in a country where the usual extent of colonial grants was not sufficient to contain it. The information conveyed to the British Government was, perhaps, the best that could be procured; and, supposing it to be correct, the idea of at once providing for a numerous body of British subjects, and establishing a new Colony, was in every respect magnificent and laudable. But it was altogether impossible for Government previously to acquaint itself with the complicated detail of local circumstances, which could not adapt themselves to any general plan, and which could not fail to have the most serious influence upon the fate of the settlement. A great deal was necessarily left with the Colonial Government; and it was here, that the first and greatest of the misfortunes of the settlement was felt,—a misfortune which may at once account for many others,—the great distance of the seat of Government. Had there been an adequate authority upon the spot, it is probable that such of the settlers as possessed the means of occupying land, would have been placed on equal terms with the Dutch boors; and that no part of them would have been long restricted to but one-sixtieth part of the extent daily and necessarily granted to the other inhabitants. A governor upon the spot would have seen and felt the neces-

sity of departing from such of the stipulations laid down in England, as could only tend to depress and embarrass the settlers, without providing any security for their continuance in the district.

" It is evident that the success of the settlers has hitherto been very unequal to that of the boors. If the cause were asked in Cape Town, it would be probably answered, that the difference arises from the dissimilarity of their habits; that the settlers sent out were of the wrong description; and that instead of people likely to establish themselves on farms, they appeared to consist of all the discontented artisans of the kingdom. Without examining the truth of this statement, it must be evident that no just comparison can be drawn between the success of the Dutch and English, until it is seen how they are respectively situated. A boor, upon discovering water on a sufficient quantity of unoccupied land, forwards, through the secretary of his district, what he terms a " request" for a place,—that is, a memorial, asking for a grant of 6000 acres; and he will hardly pay the expense of measurement for less than 4000 acres. His memorial is referred for report to the Landdrost; and if there exists no real local objection, and the applicant prevents competition by securing the favour of that powerful officer, the land is granted as a matter of course. It is inspected and measured at an expense of from 300 to 600 rix-dollars. The annual quit-rent is fixed at the inspection, and is generally from thirty to fifty rix-dollars, perhaps about one per cent. upon the estimated value. If it happens to afford water sufficient for his own use, and a small spot for cultivation, he perhaps resides on it with two or three slaves or Hottentots; but although his tenure requires residence and cultivation, he is not in reality obliged to conform to it. The occupation is considered sufficient for all the purposes of Government, if he pays his quit-rent, and is enabled, by removing his cattle to it for part of the year, to keep a greater stock, and pay a larger *opgaaf*.

" To become entitled to an equal extent, an English settler must have

brought out (at the expense of Government, it is true,) fifty-nine servants; he must have paid for each of them a deposit of 10*l.*, amounting to the full value of his land; he must employ and maintain them for three years, unless assisted by Government, at an expense of at least six times the value of his land; and he must have gone to all this expense before he knows upon what terms he is to possess it at last. He is only certain that his quit-rent shall not exceed 120*l.*, twenty-five per cent. upon the value of his land, or about twenty-five times the sum paid by the neighbouring boors; and the sole advantage which the settler possesses over the boor, in the mode of his location, is, that the expense of measurement is defrayed by Government.

"It is, probably, needless to say, that no one has actually gone to all this expense; consequently, no one of the emigrants in question possesses nearly the quantity of land which the uniform practice of this part of the Colony admits to be necessary to the other inhabitants. But, from the working man who has paid his 10*l.* deposit, and expended his three years' labour upon his 100 acres, to the settler of a higher class, who has paid 300*l.* or 400*l.* deposit, and maintained his servants for the same period, every individual must have purchased his land at this disproportionate rate,—except for the support which the misdirected generosity of the Colonial Government has afforded to a state of things unable to stand alone.

"In the first published scheme of the settlement, it appeared to be the intention of Government that the land should only be granted in large quantities to the heads of parties; but an unfortunate deviation soon occurred. Large parties were formed under nominal heads; some consisting of a number of minute subdivisions, and others totally of paupers, independent of the head of the party, and of each other. The sole pecuniary dependence of these parties was upon the repayment of the deposits which had been wisely exacted from them in England, under a promise of repayment at different periods. But as the country was quite unprepared for such a sudden addi-

tion to its population, Government was (it is said) under the necessity of retaining two-thirds of this sum to meet the expense of their support. This not only deprived the lower orders of the means of purchasing their first necessaries, but it at once assimilated them to persons obtaining parochial relief:—and they too generally evinced the same indolence, the same discontent, and the same unreasonable ideas of right to its indefinite continuance. As the issue of rations relieved so many from the necessity of exertion, it had, of course, the effect of increasing the demand for labour; and the indentured servants of the real heads of parties, finding they could better themselves by breaking their engagements, very generally ceased working. And here another evil consequence of this indiscriminate provisioning displayed itself. The rations were declared by the military magistrates to be issued for *all*,—and the masters were ordered to supply them to their servants, whether they worked or not; consequently, the issue of rations not only did not support the effective settlers, but it forced many of them, after either discharging their servants, or retaining them without advantage, to encourage them in idleness, by furnishing them with provisions, for which they had themselves paid.

"The deposits returned were hardly exhausted, when the first general failure of wheat crops occurred. But Government had already placed itself *in loco parentis* to the settlers, and many of them were not disposed to lose sight of the relationship. The scarcity which ensued was not more unfortunate in any respect, than in continuing an apparent necessity for this ruinous bounty, which created and supported indolence at the expense of industry, which deprived the master of his servant, and released the servant from the necessity of hiring himself elsewhere. The gratuitous issue of rations, besides its vitiating effect upon the habits of the receiver, has been injurious to the community, by supporting a class, which could not, without such assistance, have maintained themselves; and who have, now that it has ceased, almost

totally disappeared from the locations. That class consists of nearly all the labouring people who had been placed upon 100 acres each. And this disappearance is easily accounted for. One hundred acres may possibly afford a garden, and a little tillage-ground in the winter season, but if it supports a span of oxen to cultivate it, and ten cows, it supports double the number usually calculated upon; and where a day labourer may earn from two to four shillings per diem, ten cows of the value of one pound each, forming the full stock of ten pounds worth of land, must soon appear too insignificant to fix his attention. And although it were ascertained that this extent of land would afford a livelihood, this denomination of settlers could never be considered as likely to remain on their locations, while they could employ their labour to greater advantage elsewhere.

" If any thing could have tended to give a healthy and natural support to such a class, it was the establishment of villages in such situations as would have furnished an increased demand for the small produce of such spots; and on this account the relinquishment of Bathurst is most to be lamented. The future increase of population, at once creating and supplying the demand for produce, will, of course, operate a material change in the circumstances of the country, and in time naturally produce this class of farmers. But from what has been stated, I trust it is evident, that the course of improvement has not as yet produced that change; and that, consequently, if the attempt, at this time, to fix a dense population in one part of this Colony should fail, the failure ought not to be ascribed to the unfitness of the country alone, but also to the scale and prematurity of the experiment, and the injudicious measures intended for its support.

" One circumstance should not be overlooked in enumerating the particulars in which the situation of the settlers differs from that of the boors,—the stipulation of three years' residence previous to receiving the title to land. This regulation has, apparently, a salutary tendency, and may have such in

reality, in other cases, but it has certainly had the most pernicious effects here. It has prevented a just estimation of the value of land as possessed in small quantities, consequently confining the settler to what might be unprofitable to himself and the community; and it has prevented the acquisition by purchase of sufficient extent to render farming really profitable. It was the intention of Government to ensure a *bonâ fide* residence; but experience has proved that the occupation would have been more effectual, and better adapted to the circumstances of the country, if the transfer of land had been facilitated, instead of being prevented. It is remarked by the Duc de Rochefoucault, that it is seldom that the first or second, or even the third or fourth occupier of land in America is the most effectual; but that the more frequent the transfer, the sooner the land is likely to fall into hands able to turn it to advantage. The same traveller states, that in Canada, a regulation, similar to the one enforced here, has frequently the effect of inducing settlers, otherwise inclined to remain, to remove to the United States, and there purchase land, rather than receive it gratis under such restrictions. It is, at present, the general subject of regret among the settlers in Albany, who were formerly possessed of capital, that instead of placing themselves under the patronage and restrictions of Government, they had not, with one half of the money which they have been led to expend upon what can never repay them, paid their own passage from England, and purchased land of sufficient extent, where, unincumbered by regulation, or restraint, or assistance, they might have been free to follow whatever system might suggest itself to their own interest or inclination.

"The power of distributing land is, perhaps, as far as regards the advancement of a new settlement, the most important prerogative that can be vested in a governor; because, if the public have no security for the impartiality of the distribution, the success of each individual, or class, must depend on the means they possess of securing favour. It would, therefore, be hardly fair to

infer, that any particular class is less calculated for success than another, until it is seen whether they are equally allowed the means of attaining it; and before it can be justly concluded that discontent is peculiar to the British settlers, it should be considered how far the other inhabitants of the Colony would appear satisfied, if placed on the opposite side of the strong and invidious line of distinction at present drawn in their favour.

"The possession of the adequate means, seems to be the fairest qualification that can be required to entitle individuals to grants of public land; and perhaps nine-tenths of the original number of the emigrants could neither upon that standard, nor upon any ground of public expediency, claim more than 500 acres. That portion possess, in their labour, a stock which would be employed more profitably to themselves and the community in any other way, than in a residence upon a less extent. But the true cause of the dissatisfaction of that portion of the settlers who were possessed of the means of becoming effective occupants, is, that the scheme of the emigration has, in fact, made no real provision for an effective settlement, and that the local Government has not as yet amended the unavoidable defects of that scheme; that after having expended upon their confined allotments many times more than their value, they discover that, perhaps, all they possess has been wasted in vain; and they observe, that in as far as property can confer consideration, their descendants, if not themselves, are likely to be depressed, not only below the rank they have hitherto held, but below the common level of the boors,—of that class of the community to whom Government continues to grant the means of competency."

Arguments so cogent in themselves, and so ably urged as the preceding, could not fail to make a due impression upon the Commissioners of Inquiry, during their investigation into the state and prospects of the emigrants; and doubtless contributed to obtain their weighty recommendation for some modification of the system. Soon after the return of the Commissioners from

the interior, Mr. Hayward, an officer of the Commissariat, was appointed by the Colonial Government to proceed to Albany, in order to inquire into and report upon all claims or disputes relative to lands either in the occupation or expectancy of the British colonists. The powers of this local commissioner were, however, too limited to admit of his doing more than arrange the division and final possession of the several locations among the respective claimants. Those who had been the chief sufferers by the result of the emigration remained still, in great measure, without redress: and indeed their situation in general was now such, that it was difficult to see by what means they could be saved from absolute ruin.

The injudicious issue of rations, equally to the idle and industrious, and the injurious facility with which the local magistracy had cancelled agreements made in England, had operated in little more than twelve months, in leaving the masters generally destitute of the servants and apprentices whom they brought out with them. Many of them were, in consequence, incapacitated from continuing agricultural operations to any extent, and those who persisted in doing so, were forced to hire labourers at very exorbitant wages.

The continued failure of the crops, for three successive seasons, had at length exhausted the funds of the great majority. Their capital, with the exception of such part as had been invested in buildings and live stock, had entirely melted away. Instead of having been able to bring any surplus produce to market, they had been obliged to purchase bread corn for the subsistence of their families. Even those who possessed the best resources began to be subjected to great privations, and many were already reduced to absolute destitution.

These were the agriculturists:—they had all suffered more or less, but their condition was almost as various as had been their former pursuits. There were among them a considerable number of gentlemen who had served in the

army and navy,—some of whom still retained their half-pay, while others had sold their commissions in order to realize funds to commence farming. This class (with a very few exceptions) consisted of men of education, intelligence, and good character. There were besides these a considerable number of highly respectable families, some of whom had in England moved in circles superior even to middle life, but who had now exhausted their entire resources in this enterprise. Below these were farmers, shopkeepers, manufacturers, &c. who, apprehending the entire loss of their property from the pressure of evil times at home, had embarked it in the emigration, only to see it wrecked in Africa. Such were the classes of emigrants who had been by far the severest, if not the exclusive sufferers, by the failure of the scheme and the destruction of the crops.

The lower ranks, consisting of common mechanics and labourers, were spoiled, from the time of the very first location, by the indiscriminate issue of rations without the control of the masters; and most of them, as has been already remarked, soon found means to obtain their discharge. The great demand for labour, and the high wages given by the Government contractors, and others, who were erecting buildings at Graham's Town, attracted thither great numbers of this class; and all of them who were industrious earned a competent livelihood, and many saved money and built houses for themselves; so that that village, a mere hamlet in 1820, rose rapidly in importance. It now contains about one half of the emigrants originally located in the district, and is (in population at least) the second town in the Colony.

From this hasty retrospect it will be seen that it was almost exclusively upon the upper and middling classes that the severe pressure fell; and while the majority of the labourers and mechanics had improved their situation, and were receiving high wages, and rising to independence, their former masters were generally involved in difficulties, and rapidly sinking to indigence. Many families were, in fact, long before the period I now refer to, reduced to

great distress; and there existed little or no prospect of any effectual relief for them. They naturally clung to their locations; for, unimportant and unproductive as these were, they were all that remained to them of property. Many, too, were willing to labour, and did labour most assiduously on their own premises, whose former stations and habits of life prevented them from working for hire, or becoming the dependants of others. There were doubtless *some* individuals who clamoured loudly, and even exaggerated their privations, in order to raise contributions, by exciting the commiseration of the public:—there were individuals at once prodigal and mean, idle and importunate:—but the great majority of the classes I refer to, evinced a different spirit. Great privation was patiently endured by a numerous and highly respectable body of people, who concealed in the retirement of their cottages the destitution they were reduced to,—who were "unable to dig, and to beg were ashamed." Some distressing cases of this kind have been made known, but many more, and perhaps the most severe, have been carefully hidden even from the eye of philanthropy. In a country where butcher's meat is so cheap, that even during a scarcity it has seldom exceeded three half-pence per pound, and where, though the crops were totally destroyed, milk and vegetables have seldom been altogether wanting, very great distress for absolute want of food could not well prevail long or extensively. But to those who had all their lives been accustomed to English comfort, there existed many wants besides the want of food, and there might be much suffering short of actual famine.

A society had been instituted at Cape Town on the first arrival of the settlers, which was patronized by all the chief authorities, and liberally subscribed to by the benevolent,—of which the object was to relieve such cases of distress among the emigrants, arising from sickness or other causes, as there existed no other provision for. The funds thus appropriated had been of great benefit; but after the second failure of the crops, and when the issue of

rations had ceased, and the clothing brought out by the middling class of emigrants had been generally worn out, it was found that penury and distress were increasing at a rate which no exertions of public philanthropy within the Colony could possibly meet. Another crop failed; and to crown the calamities of the unfortunate settlers, a tremendous deluge of rain in October 1823 swept away nearly half of their huts and gardens.

Such was the situation of affairs with the settlers, when at a general meeting of the society for their relief in Cape Town, it was unanimously agreed to set on foot subscriptions in India and England in their behalf. The printed reports of the society were extensively circulated, and the tract mentioned at page 333 was published in London, with the view of interesting the public in the subject. This appeal was not made in vain: about 7000*l.* was obtained, and remitted to the Cape in the course of 1824, besides a considerable quantity of clothing.

A sub-committee of a few of the most respectable heads of parties and others had been for some time established in Albany, at whose recommendation, and through whose hands, the funds of the society had been hitherto applied to relieve only the most urgent cases; and in this manner the sums collected in the Colony (amounting from its first formation in 1820, to not much less than 3000*l.*) had been distributed. From this sub-committee a general report of the state of the settlers, including every party and family in Albany, was obtained. It was drawn up with great care and judgment, forming a most complete and valuable statistical summary,—and upon the data thus furnished, a scheme was framed for the distribution of the large funds now collected.

The distribution took place in January 1825; and about the same period, or a little before, loans to a considerable amount were issued to many of the settlers, by the Colonial Government. The full rights and title-deeds of the locations were also now made over to the different parties, without fee or expense. The mortgages on account of the rations were cancelled, and

the whole expense incurred on that account was defrayed by the Home Government. The Governor, and the Colonial Secretary, visited in person the Eastern districts, and made a circuit through the locations; and on this occasion various grievances were redressed,—claims for additional lands were considered, and in many instances allowed,—an officer of high reputation for talents and integrity was appointed Landdrost of Albany,—some of the settlers most distinguished for ability and independence, were solicited to accept appointments in the local magistracy,—and every thing, in short, was done to retrieve the settlement, and to soothe and conciliate the feelings of the people, soured by suffering, and exasperated by neglect. Had this visit of the chief authorities taken place two or three years sooner, much of the mutual misunderstanding and recrimination between the settlers and the magistracy, might certainly have been avoided. But all this is now happily over—and it is far from my purpose to keep alive unpleasant recollections.

Since that period,—the beginning of 1825,—the situation of the Settlement has gradually improved. The distribution of the subscription funds took place at a most critical period, and restored comfort, credit, and confidence to a numerous and respectable class of people, who were depressed and degraded by debt and destitution; and the other favourable circumstances I have enumerated, conspired to renew the spirit of industry and enterprise which had almost given place to despair.

The *rust* indeed has not yet ceased to ravage the wheat crops;* but

* The nature and causes of the vegetable disease called the *rust*, which has been recently so calamitous to the Cape, I do not profess sufficient agricultural or scientific skill satisfactorily to explain. Its prevalence is not altogether unprecedented in South Africa; for there are records of its existence in 1708-9-10, to such an extent that there was scarcely sufficient seed-corn left in the Colony,—and again about fifty years ago, though not in a shape so virulent. But though a grievous scourge, there is no reason to apprehend its being a perpetual one. As it has heretofore been but a temporary visitation, its ravages are probably nearly over for the present; and its departure may possibly be accelerated by change of seed and other means, in which the Government may be able to aid the colonists. The following extract, from Mr. Mier's Travels,

barley, maize, potatoes, pumpkins, and other vegetables, are now plentiful in the district; and the funds put into their hands have enabled most of the settlers who now occupy the lands, to place large herds of cattle on their pastures.

The distribution of some hundreds of the refugee Mantatees among the most respectable families, as servants and herdsmen, has also been a great advantage; while the raising of supplies for the troops and the population of Graham's Town, (formerly confined to the Somerset farm,) has opened a ready market for almost every kind of surplus produce which their fields or gardens can furnish.

shows that the Cape is not the only country exposed to this calamity; and the singular coincidence of Chile (which lies in the same latitude as the Cape, and bears a remarkable correspondence with it in climate, soil, and productions) being visited by the same distemper during the very same period, will not fail to strike the reader, and perhaps lead to some clearer understanding of its real cause and probable cure:—

"Wheat is subject to a general blight in certain seasons. I have never seen the smut in Chile, but the *rust* has of late years been more than usually prevalent. For *the three years preceding* 1824, there was a general failure in the harvests, probably owing to the lateness of the period at which rain fell. In former seasons it was usual for the rains to commence in April. So constant was this, that it was a proverbial saying throughout the country,—"Il mes de Abril traë aguas mil;" but during the last twenty years, the rain has not commenced till the end of May, or the beginning of June. In the three years alluded to, the rains set in even later than usual, so as not to fall till July, August, and the beginning of September; the consequence was, that for want of rain the soil could not be broken for sowing till July or August, whereas it was formerly tilled in April or May.

"The foggy weather, which usually follows the rainy season, formerly happened in the early growth of the corn; a long subsequent time of warm bright weather produced a dry period, which ripened the crops without blight or mildew; the farmers were certain of abundant crops of full-grained wheat, and hence the harvests of Chile became proverbial for productiveness.

"Owing, however, to the causes mentioned in the three years alluded to, damp foggy weather by day, and heavy dews by night, prevailed at the season when the farinaceous matter recently secreted was in the milky state: hence the rust, or blight, *showed itself first upon the stem in a red powder, which gradually fixed itself upon the ear, the corn shrivelled up, and bad crops followed all over the country.* There was barely sufficient produced for the consumption of Chile; scarcity raised the price so high as to place bread wholly beyond the reach of a vast number of the people."—*Mier's Travels in Chile and La Plata.*

The inexperience of the settlers, which was on their first arrival so great an obstacle to their success, no longer exists. Seven years of trials and privations have rendered them hardy and expert colonists. And though many of them have still deficiencies to endure, and difficulties to overcome, it may now be safely affirmed that the worst crisis of the emigration is fairly over,—and that in spite of all drawbacks, the British settlement has struck fast root into the country, and will maintain its hold, and gradually extend its influence far beyond the limits of its first location. The recent appointment of a Lieutenant-governor for the Eastern districts,—the extension of the privileges of regular ports to Algoa Bay and Port Frances,—and other advantages and immunities conferred by the immediate favour of the Home Government, evince the zealous anxiety which exists at the head of affairs, to afford every reasonable encouragement and support to the prosperity of our countrymen, who have introduced the language, the manners, and the enterprise of England into the wilds of Southern Africa. How far, or in what mode, it may be proper or politic to encourage farther emigration to the Colony, will be considered in the following Chapter.

CHAPTER III.

RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY FOR FARTHER COLONIZATION.—DESCRIPTION OF THE CEDED TERRITORY.—OTHER UNLOCATED DISTRICTS.—HINTS AND ESTIMATES FOR DIFFERENT CLASSES OF EMIGRANTS.—ENCOURAGEMENT FOR MECHANICS AND LABOURERS.—OPINION OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF INQUIRY.—COMPARISON OF THE CAPE WITH OTHER BRITISH COLONIES.

THE various circumstances detailed, or alluded to, in the preceding Chapter, will sufficiently account for the partial failure of the emigrants of 1820, without impeaching the adaptation of the Colony for the reception of European settlers. It remains to be considered what are its actual resources for farther colonization, when weighed without prejudice, and with the aid of the additional lights which the experience of the recent emigration has furnished.

It is acknowledged by every person who is well acquainted with the circumstances and resources of the Cape Colony, that it possesses, within its boundaries, ample means of furnishing a secure and plentiful subsistence to at least five times its present population. It is, no doubt, true, that nearly two-thirds of its entire surface consists of vast ranges of sterile mountains and dreary wastes, which no efforts of human industry can render available

for the wants of civilized man, and which refuse even drink and pasturage for the herds of the wandering grazier: it is, therefore, obvious, and admitted by every one, that, throughout a great part of the interior, a dense population can never exist. But the Cape is a country both of very wide extent and of very great diversity of soil and climate; its fertility, in some parts, is not less remarkable than its barrenness in others; and while a large proportion of its available territory is peculiarly adapted for stock-farming, the remainder is equally well suited for agriculture.

It is, moreover, a circumstance of no slight importance for the future prosperity of this settlement, that the tracts adapted by nature for the extensive prosecution of corn husbandry, lie all contiguous to the sea coast; nor is that coast (as I shall afterwards show) either of such dangerous navigation, or so ill supplied with harbours and roadsteads, as is generally imagined. Yet of this valuable territory, comprising a belt of land, stretching from Hottentot's Holland to the river Keiskamma, scarcely a hundredth part has yet been subjected to the ploughshare. The districts of Swellendam, George, and Uitenhage, were originally parcelled out in cattle-farms of the usual extent of 6000 acres; and on the profits of their live-stock the proprietors still almost exclusively depend; for, except in the vicinity of Cape Town and Algoa Bay, there has been hitherto but little encouragement for the cultivation of corn beyond the immediate wants of the farmers themselves.* This, however, is a state of things which cannot long continue. Within these few years a considerable coasting trade has been established, and which is daily increasing. Within these few months Algoa Bay and the Kowie have been admitted to the advantages of general commerce. There are other bays and inlets along the southern coast not less accessible, and which, ere long, may

* The causes of this want of encouragement,—and the foreign markets, which the Colony *might* constantly supply, will be noticed in a subsequent Chapter.

possess equal claims to like privileges: but my business is now with the *land* alone, and to that I shall for the present confine my remarks.

Of this valuable belt of sea coast, exceeding 600 miles in length, it is true that but a small proportion now remains at the disposal of Government,—but it is not, on that account, inaccessible to British capital and enterprise. Many of the present proprietors, preferring the ease and independence of stock-farming, would willingly part with their paternal fields to new comers who brought ready money in their pockets, and would migrate with their herds and flocks to seek settlements in the interior. Others, enlightened and excited by witnessing the results of British industry, would subdivide their too extensive domains, and devote their attention to corn husbandry. And, in this manner, the large tracts, now only partially or unprofitably employed by the Dutch-African boors, would be progressively occupied and improved, and the population of that part of the Colony rapidly increased. English capital would carry along with it, or speedily attract, English free-labour, which would be found more pleasant and profitable than the employment of slaves. Fishing towns and villages would spring up by degrees at every bay and embouchure along the coast,—where mechanics and artisans would fix their residence,—where coasting vessels would come to carry off the surplus produce,—and the graziers of the inner country resort for their supplies, in place of encountering (as at present) a tedious journey to Algoa Bay, or Cape Town. Such important improvements will not be the work of a day, even under favourable circumstances,—though they *must* take place in the course of time in spite of the most discouraging,—but it is obvious that they may be vastly accelerated by the influx of British capital and labour.

I have been now sketching the probable results of a considerable influx of British emigrants into the districts along the southern coast, possessed of

sufficient capital to establish themselves without any aid or interference on the part of Government. The success of this important class of settlers, as well as the general interests of the Colony, might, however, be very materially promoted by the patronage and aid of Government being bestowed in furtherance of some well-devised scheme for directing to South Africa a large, though progressive emigration of labourers, mechanics, and small farmers. Of the encouragement that exists in the Colony for these several classes of emigrants, I shall speak separately. The assistance required from Government would be,—for labourers and mechanics merely a passage out, either entirely free, or to be repaid from their surplus wages within a specified time,—for the small farmers, some facilities to reduce the expense of the passage, and the free allotment of competent locations, in proportion to their funds.

The resources of the Colony, for the establishment of this last mentioned class of emigrants, though not unlimited, are *still* considerable. Albany, indeed, may be now considered as entirely occupied;—for what of it remains unappropriated, is either of too inferior quality to be worthy of attention, or will fall to be distributed among the present inhabitants. Nor is there elsewhere, within the *old* limits of the Colony, any large extent of useful land in the hands of Government. Almost all that was worth occupation (at least in the opinion of the Dutch colonists) has been already granted away; and, assuredly, it is not my design to recommend the thorny jungle, or the sterile waste, to the acceptance of English farmers. But, eastward of the Great Fish River, there still remains, for those who cannot purchase, the valuable and extensive district ceded by the Caffers in 1819,—and which is understood to be held in reserve, by Government, for this express purpose.

This is one of the most beautiful and fertile tracts of country in Southern Africa. It is bounded on the west by the Great Fish River, and on the east by the Keiskamma and Chumi. Its upper or northern division is

intersected by the Kat, the Kounap, the Gola, and other subsidiary streams, which, issuing from the skirts of the cold and cloudy Winterberg, pour upon the grassy plains below an unfailing supply of excellent water. The mountains, which cross the country in an irregular chain from the Caha to the Chumi, are clothed, in many places, with forests of fine timber, fit for every purpose of building, husbandry, or household furniture. The Kat and Kounap Rivers, where they first issue from the mountains, are capable of being led out for irrigation, over a considerable extent of rich alluvial soil,—presenting several choice positions for future towns and hamlets, with their gardens, orchards, and corn-fields, upon the same plan as those of Graaff-Reinet, Somerset, and Uitenhage. The mountain glens, up to the very bottom of the Winterberg, are covered with luxuriant pasturage, are well wooded, and sparkling with rivulets, and competent to support a much denser population than the prosperous district of Zwagershoek, described in a preceding part of this work. The plains, extending from the mountains to within twenty miles of the sea, present, indeed, a more arid and uninviting aspect; yet they are, in many places, extremely suitable for the rearing of sheep, and are interspersed with permanent *vleys* and fountains. The verdant and diversified country near the coast, though, perhaps, not quite so favourable for sheep, is covered with abundant herbage, salubrious for cattle and horses; while its loose friable soil, and moister atmosphere, peculiarly adapt it for the cultivation of grain without irrigation.

This Ceded Territory contains altogether, at a very moderate estimate, upwards of a million of acres, available either for the purposes of agriculture, or for the raising of stock. Nor are its advantages unappreciated by the Colonial Government, or by the older inhabitants. Mr. Barrow states, that even in the time of the old Dutch Government, the frontier boors were with difficulty prevented from taking forcible possession of this tract of country, then occupied by the Caffers and Gonaquas.

In 1820, the acting Governor, Sir Rufane Donkin, obtained, by a special convention, the consent of the Caffer king, Gaika, tha this territory (previously evacuated by the Caffers) should be allotted to British settlers; and, in virtue of this agreement, a considerable portion of it was surveyed, and the site selected of a projected town on the Kat River, to be called New Edinburgh; with a view to the immediate location of some large parties of emigrants, expected out from the West of Scotland and the Highlands. But the Highlanders were, by some unlucky accident, diverted from this enterprise; and the destruction of the Abeona Transport by fire at sea, interposed a more disastrous prohibition to the attempt of the others. This desirable country remains, therefore, still entirely unoccupied; for his Majesty's Government has interdicted, by a positive proviso, its distribution among the frontier boors, and has ordered some, who had been allowed to occupy farms in it, to be recalled across the Fish River.

Should Government not resume its former intention of locating in this district a numerous body of Scotch Highlanders, (a description of people certainly extremely well adapted for its occupation,) it will probably be, ere long, apportioned out to some other class of British emigrants. The selection will, I trust, be made with due care and discrimination. People collected from large towns, or manufacturing districts, however useful in other parts of the Colony, would prove very unsuitable settlers for the Ceded Territory. A hardy, active, and industrious class of men,—accustomed to a country life, and acquainted with the management of cattle,—patient of privations,—persevering under difficulties,—should, if possible, be fixed here; and, with the superintendence of a judicious magistracy, they could not fail to prosper, in spite of the vicinity of the marauding Caffers.

Those tribes are, no doubt, like all barbarians, fickle and fierce, and fond of plunder. But they are, nevertheless, a very different race of men from the ferocious natives of North America. Even in their wars with us, (in which

I fear they have been often as much "sinned against as sinning,") they have never evinced a bloodthirsty or vindictive spirit; and in their occasional depredations they have almost always spared the herdsmen, when they were not in danger of pursuit. Their aversion to the wanton shedding of blood may be well appreciated from the fact, that during the seven years in which the Albany district has been possessed by the English settlers, although there has been frequent skirmishing between the Caffers and the military, and though the thickets of the Zuurveld have often been swarming with their predatory bands, not more than five individuals, out of a population of four thousand, have fallen victims to Caffer hostility. Farther up the frontier, the Scotch party at Bavian's River, though close upon the boundary, have not lost, during the same period, a single hoof by Caffer rapacity: and on the Zwart-Key River, beyond the Winterberg, where the boors and the Tambookie tribe pasture their herds on the same plains, a quarrel has never yet occurred between the Christian and the heathen,—nor has the former ever had occasion to complain of the violence or dishonesty of the latter. On the whole, I see no reason to doubt, that with an orderly and active British population, in possession of the Ceded Territory, organized for defence under discreet officers, and our frontier policy directed by systematic regulations, at once firm and beneficent, our relations with the Caffer tribes might be hereafter maintained on a footing equally satisfactory to the colonists, and advantageous to them. The pleasing progress of the various Missionaries now occupied in the instruction of these tribes, and the increasing demand for European commodities, excited by the regular markets now established for barter with them, cannot fail to assist in promoting this desirable result, and of rendering, perhaps ere long, the Eastern frontier as secure as the district of Uitenhage is now,—which only eight years ago was exposed to continual apprehension and damage from Caffer rapacity.

Exclusive of this frontier territory, there are still some smaller tracts of

useful country in possession of Government, which might, perhaps, be advantageously parcelled out to British emigrants with scanty funds. I allude more particularly to some tracts of waste forest land lying along the Zitzikamma coast, which I have not myself visited, but which, as I have been informed by an officer employed in the survey of that part of the Colony, are very abundantly supplied with water, and exceedingly well adapted for corn husbandry, and for horticulture of every description. A certain number of small farmers might be located here,—or little townships planted, which might probably form the *nuclei* of future villages. Here, at least, the settler would have neither the wild tribes nor (except the cowardly hyæna) beasts of prey to molest him; and with abundance of moisture, and a prolific soil, every one able to wield a spade, might easily rear vegetables sufficient (whatever were his other resources) to set famine at defiance.

Mr. Burchell, in a pamphlet published in 1819,* has pointed out a far more remote and very different tract of country to the attention of British emigrants, namely, the territory adjoining to the Cradock and Yellow Rivers, which I traversed in 1823. But although I have little doubt that the boundary of the Colony will one day embrace that remote region, I must confess I am far from considering my own countrymen the fittest class of men to colonize it. The immense distance from the coast, and the consequent difficulty and expense of travelling thither,—the want of any accessible market, either for the purchase of necessaries, or the disposal of produce,—the continual annoyances to be apprehended from ravenous wild beasts (especially lions), and from wandering savages (especially Bushmen),—above all, the excessive drought of the climate, and the general impracticability of irrigation,—form altogether a combination of obstacles, such as scarcely any class of European settlers could be expected successfully to contend with. In my

* "Hints on Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope. London: Hatchard."

apprehension, the back-country *vee-boors*, or the semi-civilized Griquas are the only fit colonists for the banks of the Gariep.

The disposable lands within the present boundaries of the Cape Colony fit for European farmers, are, it is obvious, limited,—and its capacity for the reception of emigrants is, of course, not indefinite. Space must be allowed, too, for the progressive increase of its present population; and I am far from advocating any farther extension of our eastern frontier. Yet, with all these restrictions, I have no hesitation in asserting that the Cape still affords ample room for the reception of at least ten thousand additional settlers. I do not mean to affirm that such a considerable number could be advantageously, or even safely sent out to the Cape in a single season,—or that any extensive scheme of emigration upon principles similar to that of 1820, would be advisable; but I mean to say, that I consider the Colony quite capable of absorbing a progressive influx of five or six hundred emigrants annually for a dozen or fifteen years to come; and that it not only possesses abundant means for their prosperous establishment, but that their enterprise and industry, if properly directed, could not fail to develope much more rapidly than can be otherwise anticipated, the latent resources of this important settlement.

I have mentioned that the Cape Colony possesses, in my opinion, considerable claims to the attention of *three* different classes of emigrants. I now proceed to specify these several classes more distinctly, and to detail with some minuteness the course which I consider it advisable for them generally to pursue, in order to avoid disappointment, and save much valuable time and money. The facts and calculations which I shall submit for their consideration, whatever may be their practical importance, are at least not dependent upon vague theories, but upon correct data, derived from the experience of sensible farmers, and other intelligent persons long resident in the country.

And first, in addressing my remarks to persons possessed of sufficient capital to become landholders at the Cape on an independent footing, without any aid from Government, I beg to premise that I am far from *recommending* emigration to any who possess the means of realizing a competent subsistence at home. In all new Colonies there are many discomforts, disquietudes, and grievances, of which Englishmen in their own country can have little idea. The Cape, even in its best settled provinces, is not without its share of these; and emigrants, however well provided with funds, will have, especially on their first arrival, a plentiful lot of privations and petty annoyances to encounter. They will find among "the orange and the almond bowers" of Southern Africa, no Elysian retreat from the every-day troubles of life; and, if they ever indulged golden dreams of there realizing sudden affluence, they will soon find themselves unpleasantly wakened from the absurd delusion.

But to those who, without entertaining such romantic expectations, are desirous of removing themselves and families from the depressing anxieties of unprosperous circumstances, and who are able to carry out with them funds sufficient to purchase and stock a farm in one of the more settled districts, I can conscientiously recommend the Cape as a country where rustic competence may be securely attained without very severe exertion for the present, or harassing anxiety for the future,—where they will enjoy a mild and salubrious climate, with perfect security of life and property,—and where they may comfortably establish themselves by means of a capital more moderate, I apprehend, than would suffice for the same purpose in any other British Colony.—To persons thus circumstanced and predisposed, the following hints are offered.—

Unless the emigrant has a capital exceeding 2000*l.* sterling, (and not very many who have that amount, will probably think of leaving Britain,) I would not advise him to expend any *considerable* sum in the purchase of stores and utensils. Until he has acquired some practical knowledge of the country, he

cannot judge clearly what may be in every respect essential; and such is the diversity of local circumstances, that even an experienced resident, unless he were acquainted with the precise spot where he may ultimately settle, could scarcely furnish him with useful directions. Many of the emigrants of 1820 have had cause deeply to regret the expenditure of large sums upon machinery and implements which they have never been able to use. At the residence of one gentleman in Albany, I saw property of this description stowed up in an out-house, which had cost upwards of 600*l.* in England, and which he could neither employ profitably, nor yet dispose of without immense loss. Had the sum thus uselessly sunk been expended upon live stock, in 1820, (Merino sheep for instance,) it would by this time have more than quadrupled its value.

A few articles for immediate use will, however, be expedient. Among these ought to be a couple of strong iron ploughs, a winnowing machine, a selection of wire sieves for corn and flour, a small hand corn-mill, iron teeth for harrows, a dozen or two of spades and pickaxes, an assortment of carpenter's tools for rough work, three or four strong bridles and saddles, (the latter adapted for horses of secondary size,) a couple of fowling-pieces, and a few common muskets, &c. &c. These, with a stock of wearing apparel sufficient to last the family for three years, comprise all the luggage with which I would advise emigrants, even of the first class, to incumber themselves; and 100*l.* or 150*l.* thus expended, will, I conceive, be quite sufficient provision for the first three years: additional supplies can always be obtained, either in the Colony, or ordered from England, as they may be required.

A couple of steady farm-servants, engaged for a term of three years upon clear and well-defined contracts, and two or three boys about twelve years of age, (obtained perhaps from a poor-house,) and regularly indentured for seven years, ought to form part of the settler's establishment. A greater number might perhaps be usefully employed, but the tendency to dissatis-

faction is so great, wherever a considerable number of English servants are engaged together on long contracts, that the annoyance would probably more than counterbalance the benefit; and the master had better trust to the resources of the Colony for additional labour, (limited as these resources are,) than expend a large sum on bringing out a numerous retinue to torment his life with extravagant claims and eternal grumblings.

In all colonies where the price of labour is exorbitant, white servants are apt to become saucy and unreasonable. In America and New South Wales, matters in this respect are fully as bad as at the Cape,—in Van Diemen's Land, I believe, much worse. This circumstance forms, in fact, one of the chief inconveniences and obstructions to new settlers in all these countries, of which every book of travels furnishes abundant illustrations. At the Cape, however, the Hottentot population affords an important resource. These natives are not, indeed, well adapted for regular heavy labour, nor are they likely to do well with hasty or capricious masters; but they form good herdsmen and waggon-drivers, and, when judiciously treated, generally prove useful and obedient dependents.

For the sake of domestic comfort, especially where there are children, one or two active English maid-servants would be very desirable; but if young and good-looking, it is more than probable that marriage would very speedily cancel all previous engagements. The old or the ugly are the most convenient housemaids to carry to new colonies. Except in Cape Town, an unmarried woman above twenty-five years of age is an anomaly almost unknown.

His preliminary preparations being made, the emigrant should, if possible, secure a passage direct to Algoa Bay, in preference to Cape Town,—unless he means to establish himself within a moderate distance of the latter, which would require, however, a more considerable capital than I have taken into account. Cape Town is comparatively an expensive place, and would con-

sume in a few weeks a sum of money which would be of no slight importance in the stocking of an African farm; while, on the other hand, by proceeding at once to Uitenhage, he could maintain his family in that village, or its vicinity, at a very moderate rate, until he had leisure to look about for such an estate as suited his circumstances. At Uitenhage, house-rent is moderate,—vegetables are abundant,—good beef is sold for 1*d.* per lb., and mutton for 1½*d.* Several genteel English families are already settled there;* and should it become the capital of the eastern districts, the population must rapidly increase. There the emigrant, should he not immediately find a farm that pleased him, might very agreeably, and not altogether unprofitably, reside even for some months. He ought not to be too hasty in purchasing a place; but should make careful inquiries in regard to the capabilities of such farms as are advertised for sale; for the value of lands in South Africa depends much more upon local circumstances, than upon extent or external appearances.

Supposing the emigrant arrived at Uitenhage, with funds at his disposal to the amount of from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.*, it will be more advantageous for him to purchase a boor's place than to locate himself upon a new grant on the frontier, even though he has interest with Government to procure an extensive one. An estate of the usual extent of 6000 acres, with some tolerable buildings, garden, and other improvements upon it, may be obtained for a sum, varying from 6000 to 10,000 rix-dollars, (450*l* to 750*l.*) The place being purchased, transferred, and competently stocked, the settler would find the account of his outlay since he landed in the Colony, somewhere as follows.

* These are chiefly half-pay officers with families. For persons of this description, the salubrious and delightful climate, and the great cheapness of living, either on a farm, or in most of the country towns, render the Cape a most eligible residence. At each of the district towns there is now an English teacher established by Government, and the clergymen are also mostly English. Female education is the chief difficulty for genteel families.

Funds on arrival at Algoa Bay—say	-	-		£1500	0 0
Expenses of debarkation, waggon-hire, travelling in the country, residence at Uitenhage for three months, and other contingencies	- -	£ 75	0 0		
Purchase-money of an estate	- -	700	0 0		
Four per cent. transfer duty	- -	28	0 0		
A bullock-waggon	- - - -	50	0 0		
Household furniture, &c.	- -	100	0 0		
Forty cows of the common country breed, at 1*l.* each	- - - -	40	0 0		
Twenty cows of the fatherland (or bastard European) breed, at 1*l.* 10*s.* each	-	30	0 0		
Twelve good draught oxen	- -	24	0 0		
Twenty young oxen, at 1*l.* 10*s.* each	-	30	0 0		
Five hundred ewes (Cape breed), at 4*s.* each	-	100	0 0		
One hundred wethers, at 5*s.* each	-	25	0 0		
Ten mares, at 4*l.* each	- - -	40	0 0		
Four horses, at 7*l.* each	- - -	28	0 0	£1270	0 0*

* In the above estimate I have supposed the settler to carry out no live stock, and but a moderate supply of other articles. If his capital, however, is equal to the task, he might advantageously take one or two bulls and rams, with a view of improving the breed of cattle and sheep which he will find in the Colony. To facilitate his operations too, if his funds do not exceed 1500*l.*, he might pay up only half the purchase-money of his estate at first, and the remainder by annual instalments, as is a common practice in the Colony. It is to be observed, also, that I have taken the usual price of *first-rate* farms in the interior, on the supposition that competition might somewhat raise the price of land. At present, very good farms may occasionally be had in the eastern districts, for 300*l.* or 400*l.*

The following estimate is supplied by a practical English farmer, who has spent upwards of five years in the Colony. In some points it differs from the above, being calculated rather for a settler who purposes to rear an improved breed of cattle and sheep, and to look for his principal returns from raising Merino wool, than one who commences with the common stock of the country.

Estimate

This will leave in his hands a balance of 230*l.*—which, with economy, will suffice for all the ordinary expenses of his establishment, until he can obtain some return of produce from his farm. For the first two or three years his agricultural operations should be very limited; and he would find useful to avail himself, in all ordinary affairs, of the experience of the Cape Dutch colonists in his vicinity,—a class of men not deficient in shrewdness, and

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Estimate of the Expenditure of a Settler with a capital of 1500*l.*

Preparatory expenditure in England:—	
One year old, Devon bull	£ 15 0 0
One ditto, Durham or Yorkshire breed	15 0 0
Two young Merino rams	6 0 0
Six yearling Merino ewes	12 0 0
Two strong iron ploughs, with additional shares	8 0 0
One winnowing machine, with additional sieves	8 0 0
One hand corn-mill	5 10 0
One very fine wire sieve, and horse-hair cloth for flour sieves	2 0 0
A chest of carpenter's tools, with pit and cross-cut saws	10 0 0
A grind-stone	0 12 0
Spades, shovels, pickaxes, &c.	1 15 0
Two iron wheels for wheelbarrows	0 14 0
One cwt. of harrow-teeth	1 8 0
One cwt. of nails of various sizes	1 8 0
Two saddles and bridles	7 10 0
Two fowling-pieces and three muskets	12 0 0
Garden seeds of various sorts	3 0 0
Furniture,* &c.	100 0 0
Cabin passage for two persons	80 0 0
Passage for two European servants	36 0 0
Freight for live stock, &c.	50 0 0
	£375 17 0

* Emigrants possessing adequate funds, and intending to settle near the coast,—in any part, for instance, of the districts of George or Uitenhage, might, perhaps, advantageously carry out some furniture, as it is very expensive to purchase in the eastern districts; but in this item they should strictly limit themselves to articles of indispensable utility, and of the most substantial construction.

Expenditure

who, if civilly treated, will be found generally useful and friendly neighbours. In the course of a year or two his own experience will enable him to judge correctly of the capabilities of the place, and the peculiarities of the climate, and he may then proceed securely with such improvements as he considers practicable or expedient. In the mean while, the produce of his live stock, after the first year, will enable him to support his family in comfort, without trenching greatly on his spare capital, if he has any.

Settlers, whose clear capital does not exceed 1000*l.*, will have greater privations to submit to, and must either content themselves with places of secondary value, which may be obtained for 300*l.* or 400*l.*, or must make the purchase partly upon credit, and pay off the incumbrance by degrees.

The direct taxes in the district of Uitenhage are very moderate. They consist of quit-rent upon land, varying from fifteen to two hundred rix-dollars per annum; one skilling (or twopence farthing) for each horse; two stivers (or three farthings) for each head of cattle; four skillings (nine pence) per hundred, for sheep; two stivers for each muid of grain harvested; and two rix-dollars and two skillings (three shillings and fourpence half-

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Expenditure in the Colony:—

Travelling and other expenses previous to settling on a farm	£. 50	0	0
Purchase-money of a place of 6000 acres	500	0	0
Two waggons	75	0	0
Two teams of draught oxen	45	0	0
Two good saddle horses	22	10	0
Five mares, at seventy-five rix-dollars each	28	2	6
Twenty cows, averaging eighteen rix-dollars do.	27	0	0
Forty young cattle, at ten rix-dollars do.	30	0	0
One hundred yearling wethers, at two and a half rix-dollars do.	18	15	0
Two hundred ewes, at two and a half rix-dollars do.	37	10	0
	£. 833	17	6
	375	17	0
Total expenditure	£. 1209	14	6

penny) of church money. Thus, the taxes upon a farm, such as I have supposed the settler to occupy, would be as follows:—

Quit-rent on 6000 acres—say 175 rix-dollars	£13	2	6
Ninety head of cattle	0	5	2½
Six hundred sheep	0	4	6
Fourteen horses	0	2	6½
Church money	0	3	4½
	£13	18	1½

An addition of twenty-five and sometimes of fifty per cent. is occasionally made on the live stock, &c., to meet extraordinary expenses; but the utmost amount of direct taxes would not exceed fifteen pounds sterling. It must, however, be remarked, that the taxes in the Uitenhage district are considerably lighter than in any other part of the Colony.

In order to exhibit more distinctly the profits of farming in the eastern districts, I subjoin the following exact account of the capital invested, and the income obtained by a respectable Dutch-African farmer in the vicinity of Uitenhage, with which I have been furnished by a friend residing in that district.

CAPITAL INVESTED.

Value of the estate	Rix-dollars	10,000
Seven male slaves		14,870
Four female ditto, with children		14,100
Two hundred and thirty head of breeding cattle		2300
Sixty oxen		1800
Two waggons		1000
Carried over		44,070

Brought forward		44,070
Sixteen mares		640
Three horses		300
Four hundred and fifty sheep and goats		1000
Agricultural implements, furniture, &c.		2000
Rix-dollars	48,010	= £3600 15 0

INCOME.

3200 lbs. of butter—sold for	Rix-dollars	1200
130 muids of barley		910
90 muids of oats		405
Six cows		90
Twenty-four oxen		720
Rix-dollars	3325	= £249 7 6

EXPENDITURE.

Quit-rent	Rds.	130	— —		
Taxes		43	1 3		
Clothing for family		700	— —		
Ditto, for slaves		400	— —		
Groceries, wines, &c.		600	— —	Rds. 1873 1 3	= £140 10 6
Surplus, Rds.				1451 6 3	= £108 17 0

Perhaps few families, accustomed to English comforts, could live quite so economically as even the better sort of Dutch farmers usually do, with all their hospitality; but it must be noticed, that the preceding calculation was made in the year 1823, when the *rust* had destroyed the whole of this farmer's wheat crops. Had this not been the case, he might have calculated upon selling about 130 muids of wheat, (or 394 Winchester bushels,) which, at ten rix-dollars per muid, would have made an addition of 1300 rix-dollars, (97*l.* 10*s.*,) to his income. It must also be observed that the capital invested in slaves, in this instance, is a great deal more than is necessary; and that slave-holding is a hazardous and unprofitable investment of property, which an Englishman, from prudential as well as moral considerations, would avoid.

All things taken into account, farming at the Cape must be allowed to afford, in ordinary times, and with competent funds, a secure income for a moderate family.

The second class of emigrants calculated to succeed at the Cape, are practical agriculturists, who can carry out small capitals of from 300*l.* to 500*l.* This class, not having means to purchase or stock a large farm, ought to receive from Government allotments of land in proportion to their funds, of from 1000 to 2000 acres, at least: if the land consists exclusively of pasturage, the allotments should be larger. Some assistance from Government, in order to diminish their preliminary expenses, would also be highly advantageous, and might be bestowed under the security of a mortgage upon the lands granted to them, to be cleared off in a certain number of years. How important such aid would be will be obvious, from the following account of the actual expenses of a British settler, who emigrated to the Colony about three years ago, and who received no aid whatever from Government, except a grant of about 2000 acres.

Passage for himself, wife, and one servant, to Cape Town				£95	0 0
Expenses in Cape Town, and passage to Algoa Bay -				47	10 0
Waggon-hire, and other expenses in proceeding to his location near the frontier - - -				11	10 0
One horse - - -	Rix-dollars	70	0		
Two mares - - - -		85	4		
Six draught oxen - - -		180	0		
Twenty young cattle - - -		300	0		
Twenty cows, at 10 rds. - -		200	0		
Five hundred ewes, at 2 rds. - -		1000	0		
Fifty wethers, at 3 rds. - -		150	0		
Two rams, at 3 rds. - - -		6	0		
Twenty-five goats, at 2½ rds. - -		62	4		
6 muids of Wheat, for seed and bread, at 20 rds.		120	0		
10 muids of Barley, at 5 rds. - -		50	0		
	Rds.	2224	0	= £166	16 0
				£320	16 0

It will be observed that the prices of the live stock in this statement are somewhat lower than in the preceding accounts. This is owing to the settler having made his purchases in the interior, and partly by barter with the cattle boors. His whole capital, however, not at first exceeding 350*l.*, almost one half of it was consumed before he reached his location. In consequence of this he was unable to purchase a waggon, or any furniture except cooking utensils, and was obliged to content himself with an insufficient quantity of stock. Yet, being an ingenious and industrious man, he has in the course of three years nearly surmounted these difficulties. With the help of only one English servant, he has erected a commodious stone house of three apart-

ments, rudely but snugly furnished by his own handiwork; he has cultivated and inclosed with ditch and wattled fence about thirty acres of land,—planted an orchard and small vineyard,—and constructed for himself a number of conveniences. His crop the first season merely supplied his family with bread; in the second, he was able to sell thirty-five muids of wheat, and sixteen muids of barley at high prices (there being a scarcity), which brought him in about 45*l.*, and enabled him to supply his family with comforts, and to add somewhat to the amount of his stock. The third season his crops failed from drought and rust, but he saved enough for family consumption. His flocks and herds (which are tended by Hottentots, whose wives act as household servants,) are fast increasing; and in a few years more, even without any aid from agriculture, he will be in easy circumstances. It is obvious, however, that if he had been enabled to bring to his location the whole of the slender capital he originally set out with, his circumstances the second year would have been equal to what they will now be in four or five.

It cannot, indeed, be calculated, that every settler will be equally economical and industrious as the individual now referred to; but with common prudence and activity, and with adequate grants of land, there seems little reason to doubt that six or seven hundred emigrants of this class might be prosperously established on the eastern frontier,—particularly if the Home Government should be induced to supply some facilities towards their obtaining a cheap and direct passage to Algoa Bay.

The last class of emigrants to be noticed are mechanics and labourers. The number of these who might at once find profitable employment in the Colony it is difficult to estimate with accuracy; but from the speedy absorption of the several importations of persons of this description that have recently taken place, without any diminution of the high price of labour, it may be pretty safely inferred, that a progressive influx of three or four hundred annually, for many years to come, would scarcely meet the demand.

Nine years ago, Mr. B. Moodie carried out about two hundred and fifty labourers and mechanics, who speedily dispersed themselves throughout the Colony; and who, although burthened by a severe drawback upon the profits of their labour, on account of their passage, (amounting to from 30*l.* to 60*l.* per family,) have, in general, not only cleared off that large sum, but for the most part established themselves in comfort; and not a few have acquired property. In various parts of the Colony, individuals of this party are now to be found, carrying on considerable business as tradesmen, or occupying thriving farms. I found one of them settled near the Camtoos River, who had originally been a small farmer in the south of Scotland, but had failed and come out to the Colony without twenty shillings in his possession. In the course of seven years, however, by indefatigable industry, he had paid up Mr. Moodie's claims, had obtained a considerable grant of land from Government, (in a place which the African boors had not considered habitable,) which he had cleared and partly stocked; and in January 1826, he had purchased a waggon and was going on prosperously. Another individual of this party, who came out in similar circumstances, lately purchased an estate in the vicinity of Graham's Town for 12,000 rix-dollars, and was not only in a condition to stock it, but to pay a considerable part of the price in ready money.

These, no doubt, are favourable cases, which cannot be expected very frequently to occur; but they show that the field of enterprise is open at the Cape, and that industry and good conduct will often elevate the most indigent individuals to a higher grade in society. In fact, not a few who went out in 1820 as actual paupers, (their deposit-money being defrayed by their parishes,) are now among the most thriving settlers in Albany.

Of the 4000 settlers of 1820, fully two-thirds consisted of mechanics and labourers, and many of them not of the most useful description; yet the great majority, as has been already mentioned, were able to obtain high wages, and to improve their circumstances even during the greatest distress of the settle-

ment. The greater part of these are now comfortably established in Graham's Town, or in other parts of the Colony,—while the agriculturists are distressed for want of servants.

In December 1823, Mr. Ingram brought out to Cape Town 352 Irish labourers, who in a short time obtained employment in that town or its vicinity, without producing any sensible effect on the rate of wages. Although the Home Government had defrayed the charge of the passages of these people, they had also entered into agreements to pay Mr. Ingram each a considerable sum of money, being three hundred rix-dollars for a male, two hundred for a female, and one hundred and fifty for a child; and this burden forms the only obstacle to their speedily attaining a state of comfort and independence entirely beyond their reach in their native country. In future, it is to be wished, that care should be taken, that the poorer emigrants are burdened with no mortgage upon their labour beyond the expense of their passage.

After all these emigrations, such is the urgent demand for labourers, particularly in the eastern districts, that some of the English landholders of Albany have recently deputed one of their body (Mr. F. Carlisle) to solicit assistance from the Home Government, in this point,—pledging themselves, by a written engagement, to take into their service the number of seven hundred and eighty labourers, (including men, women, and children,) provided they be sent out at the expense of Government, and engaged to them for the term of three years, at the rate of 12*l.* each per annum, with provisions. This, indeed, scarcely amounts to one-third of the present rate of wages in that part of the Colony; but the settlers argue, that three years' service, at this rate, will be but a moderate price for the labourer to pay for his passage out to a country where his situation will be so much improved,—while the expense on the part of Government will not exceed 15*l.* for each individual sent, and would at the same time prove the most suitable recompense that could now be offered by the mother-country to those emigrants of 1820, who suffered most severely

by the defective plan of their location, and the unexpected failure of their crops. The following extracts from a Report of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry to the Home Government, dated June 1, 1825, contain some observations relative to this subject, which, proceeding from such high authority, must be considered at this moment as peculiarly important:—

"Notwithstanding the importation of so many European labourers into the Colony from time to time, the high price of labour has not hitherto been perceptibly affected.

"Mechanics and tradesmen of all classes, especially tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, bricklayers, upholsterers, coopers, sawyers, carpenters, and blacksmiths, meet with ready employment in Cape Town, and are in as great demand in the country districts, where common labourers in husbandry continue also to receive high wages.

"It is admitted by all persons, except those who derive subsistence from hiring out the labour of their slaves and prize negroes, that the importation of European labour has been beneficial to the Colony, as well as to those labourers who have been endued with habits of common industry, and the labourers themselves are in general well contented with their circumstances.

"If his Majesty's Government should be induced to make advances for the transport and maintenance of labourers and mechanics from any part of the British dominions to the Cape of Good Hope, it would be satisfactory that these persons should understand that their industry would enable them to redeem the sums so advanced within a reasonable time; and that no other deduction from their wages would be required than might be sufficient to cover the expenses of the voyage. *If* 15*l.* should be sufficient to provide for the transport of a labourer to the Cape, and that he should be entitled to redeem the charge by a deduction of fifteen to twenty-five shillings per month from his wages, he would acquire the free disposal of his labour in twelve or twenty months; and in the same manner for each in-

dividual of his family who should be capable of service. For this payment the masters should become responsible to the local authorities of the district; and we think, that under the present circumstances of the Colony, and especially in that part of it where, on account of the prohibition of the employment of slaves, the wages of free labour are likely to continue high, a more punctual performance of the conditions of repayment is to be expected, than if the exaction of them was made dependent upon the interest of an individual.

"If it is an object of importance to the British Government to extinguish the evil of slavery in the newly planted settlement of Albany, and to take away the many temptations to it that exist in that quarter, from the vicinity of the savage tribes on the frontier, it will not feel reluctance, we think, to incur the inconsiderable expense that we have proposed of one pound per head for every free labourer who may be induced to emigrate, as a compensation for the charge of their superintendence. We have already described the advantages to the labourer with which the exemption from this charge would be attended, and although the repayment of the advance for his passage would constitute a present deduction from the profits of his industry, it might be effected by such moderate instalments from his wages, as would not expose him to any severe privations.

"We cannot omit to observe, that any facilities that His Majesty's Government may deem it expedient to afford to the British settlers in Albany, in obtaining the farther assistance of labourers from Europe, would be a seasonable relief to them after their late privations, and constitute a satisfactory indemnity for their early disappointments."

These suggestions, I doubt not, will meet with due consideration in the high quarter to which they are addressed, and lead to such measures as, in the circumstances both of the Colony and the Mother Country, may be found most expedient.

The extent of the demand for labourers, and the rate of wages, vary considerably in different parts of the Colony.

At Cape Town the Commissioners state that mechanics and useful tradesmen usually obtain from three to four rix-dollars per day, together with subsistence and lodging; and the common labourers, from a rix-dollar and a quarter to two rix-dollars, besides subsistence;—but that all of the latter class had not been able to procure regular employment at this rate; the hire of a slave or free coloured-labourer not exceeding twenty rix-dollars per month, together with subsistence and lodging.

On the eastern frontier the demand for labour is more urgent, and the wages higher. Mr. Carlisle, in his examination before the Emigration Committee of the House of Commons, has stated the average rate for artisans to be from ten to twelve shillings sterling per day, and for labourers from four to five shillings. This I should consider as rather a high average, although these wages are doubtless in some instances obtained. The price of labour would also inevitably be reduced by any considerable influx of that description of settlers, unless new capital should at the same time be attracted to the improvement of the Colony. But it would require a much more sudden and extensive influx of labourers than is likely to take place, to reduce wages below a moiety of the present average; and that, in my estimation, would still be a very competent remuneration in a country where subsistence (and especially animal food) is so reasonable.*

In whatever scheme may be ultimately adopted for promoting emigration to the Cape, I trust Government will be careful to make a due proportion

* In the districts occupied exclusively by the Dutch colonists, the demand for European servants is much more limited than at the two extremities, where the English population predominates. The Dutch proprietors in the interior are generally inclined rather to postpone improvements than to pay such a high price for them. English artisans are, however, now found scattered among them even in the remotest quarters, and many have married into their families and settled among them.

of females an indispensable proviso. The evils of a neglect of this important circumstance have been disastrously experienced in more than one of our infant settlements; nor have they been altogether unknown at the Cape, where the illicit connexions of Europeans with females of the coloured population has but too obviously tended to the degradation of both classes.*

I shall conclude this chapter with an extract from the pamphlet (already quoted) of my friend Mr. Pringle, which being written only for a temporary purpose, is, I believe, already out of print; and the author's opinions will, probably, not be considered unimportant on the present subject, when it is mentioned that he was the leader of the Scotch party, located at Bavian's River, the most successful, perhaps, of all the settlers of 1820, and is intimately acquainted with the general situation of the Cape Colonists, and the whole circumstances of the emigration.

"With all the defects of this country and climate, I am fully satisfied that, in ordinary times, it is not a *worse*, but perhaps a *better* land to live in than any other British Colony. And however startling this opinion may appear, after all that has recently occurred in Albany, I believe a hasty comparison will discover it to be not so very preposterous as many persons

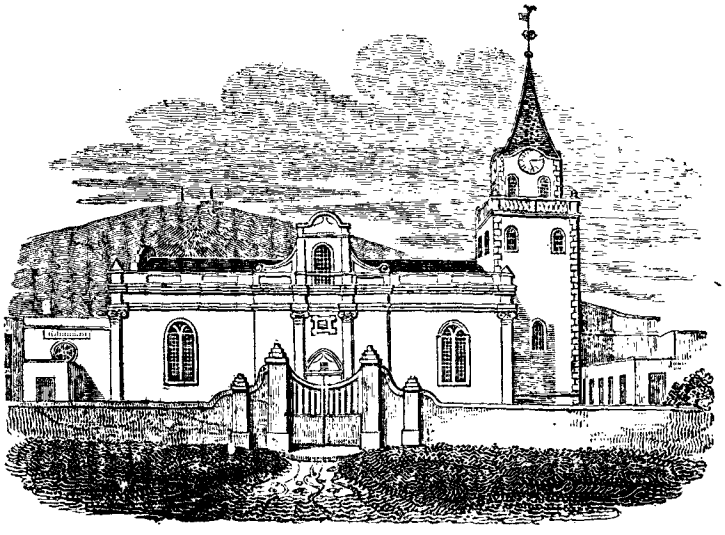
* I am by no means inclined to fall in with the system, too much in fashion now-a-days, of attributing crimes not to the ill-regulated passions of mankind, but to the temptations to which men are said to be exposed by the peculiar state of society, for which their governments are held answerable; but in a scheme like that of a great emigration, when a more direct interference with the details of society is exercised, a weightier responsibility falls, I conceive, upon the patrons of the enterprise. If men, unsolicited, think proper, from whatever motives, to expatriate themselves, or to follow a line of life subject to peculiar privations, or peculiar temptations, "their sins be upon their own heads;" but I cannot avoid protesting most strongly against colonization upon an extensive scale, whether by the transportation of convicts, or by the tempting of settlers by grants of land, where the great principle of Nature proclaimed by the Deity himself, that "It is not good for man to be alone," is for a moment overlooked; and I would appeal to the conscience of a Christian government how far it would be responsible for the enormities resulting from the deliberate creation of a state of society *repugnant to the order of Nature.*

may at this moment be apt to imagine;—for the fluctuating tide of public opinion appears to be now turned as unreasonably against, as it was formerly extravagantly in favour of South Africa. True, the Cape is exposed to droughts, rust, storms of hail, excessive rains, diseases in cattle, marauding Caffers, Bushmen, beasts of prey, serpents, and so forth:—but, after a pretty intimate experience of all these annoyances, I am convinced that they are not worse than others of a similar or analogous description which prevail more or less in all new colonies. In New South Wales, for instance, they have also their droughts, deluges, and destructive hurricanes, which have more than once reduced the colonists to the verge of famine;* and in Van Diemen's Land they have the barbarous Aborigines, and the more barbarous "Bush Rangers," to destroy their property and disturb their quiet. They have, moreover, scarcely any other servants than convicts, and little society that is much superior. In Canada, again, they have an iron winter to endure, and an endless forest to hew down; not to mention rattle-snakes, ounces, bears, treacherous Indians, and strifes and bush-fightings with brother Jonathan, to molest the tranquil happiness of a log-hut retreat from the troubles of Europe. A settler, in whose hospitable cabin I spent a night near the Kapp River, (in Albany,) and who had formerly resided some years in Canada, assured me, that he counted all the natural defects of South Africa, balanced by its mild and salubrious climate, as but slight, when compared with the appalling winters and woods of that colony. At Mr. Birkbeck's paradise on the Wabash, also, and its vicinity, it appears that they are not only scarce of water, like ourselves, but are afflicted with deadly swamp miasmata, which we here know nothing of,—besides "liberty

* Mr. E. Curr, who has published a very sensible and impartial account of Van Diemen's Land, states, that in the year 1821, 50,000 bushels of wheat were exported from that island to Port Jackson. "This," he adds, "was a season of great scarcity in New South Wales,—a circumstance which, from one cause and another, has occurred about every three years since its establishment."

and equality" servants, eternal litigations about rights of land, scalping back-wood Indians, and, worse than all, "rifling," "gouging," and "scalping" back-wood Whites.

"Here, on the contrary, whatever other evils we may have to complain of, there is certainly no danger of life, and little of property, except occasionally from the Caffers along the frontier line. And the Caffers, even under the least favourable points of view, are an honest, humane, and civilized race, compared with the red or white savages just mentioned. The African boors I know well, and can thoroughly estimate; and with all their faults, I do not hesitate to characterize them as a well-disposed and respectable class of men. Doubtless there are many unfavourable exceptions, though infinitely fewer than in Barrow's time; but the very worst and wildest of the back-country boors, (and I have lived for years in their neighbourhood, and lodged a hundred times in their houses and hovels,) though they might occasionally attempt to *overreach*, would never wantonly injure, much less rob or "*rifle*" a traveller. Of the long oppressed and neglected Hottentots, I have tried and trusted numbers in the most unlimited manner, and never knew them purloin or make free with any thing,—with the exception, perhaps, of a little brandy or tobacco at a time of temptation;—and I never saw them display any spirit of revenge, and seldom even of resistance, under the most severe and contumelious treatment. As for the slaves, they are (and necessarily must be) unhappy, debased, and dangerous in all countries; but here they form but a moderate part of the population, and are fortunately not permitted to degrade the English settlements."



CHAPTER IV.

RETROSPECTIVE AND GENERAL REMARKS.—NOTICES OF SOME OF THE PLATES AND VIGNETTES.—CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS OF CAPE TOWN AND ITS VICINITY.—THE PRESS.—COMMISSIONERS OF INQUIRY.—WINE-TRADE.

In the present work I have endeavoured not to fatigue the patience of the reader, by leading him over the beaten tracks of former travellers, and particularly of those of more recent date; and when I have been compelled to follow in the same paths, it has been my aim to select for him those points of view, which, from lapse of time, or other causes, present a contrast to the aspect they wore when seen by my precursors. I have studied rather to supply what they have omitted, than affected, by blending their materials with my own, to give such an elaborate account of the Colony, as would require the united talents of the naturalist, the historian, and the statesman. I

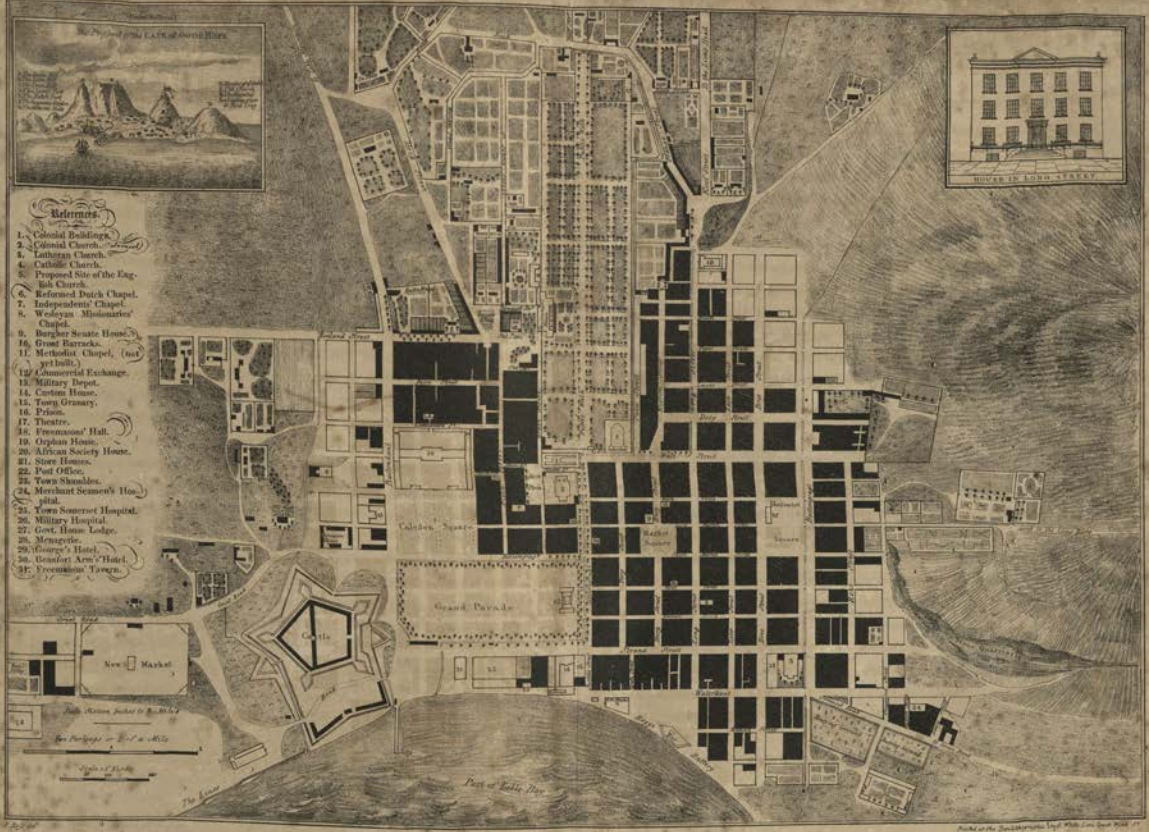
may, therefore, be excused from repeating the oft-told tale of the discovery of the "Stormy Cape," by the Portuguese Admiral, Bartholomew Diaz, in 1493, and the prophetic change of its name by his Sovereign; of its settlement by the Dutch under Van Riebeck, in 1650; of its increase by the arrival of the French refugees, upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes,—and its gradual rise to an important Colony; of its capture by the British arms, in 1795; its restoration at the peace of Amiens; its subsequent capture, and final annexation to the British dominions in 1806.

Were it possible to trace the gradual extinction of the Hottentots, as a nation, within the boundaries of the Colony, by the progress of European civilization and encroachment, the detail would, unfortunately, not have even the charm of novelty to give interest to it. The same acts of rapacity and cruelty which marked the progress of the Spaniard in Mexico and Peru, and of the Englishman in North America, have merely been acted over again by the Dutchman in Southern Africa. The superior force, enterprise, and address, and still more, the dissemination of the worst vices of their conquerors, have produced their usual effects,—till the numerous tribes, whose habits are detailed with such disgusting accuracy by their matter-of-fact historian Kolben, and with so much poetic licence by the enthusiastic Vaillant, have been gradually driven from the kraal to the bush, or amalgamated with the general mass of the servile coloured population.' Justice and humanity array our feelings on the side of the invaded people; and God forbid that I should palliate the violation of either of those sacred principles! But when we cannot approve the means, it is at least some consolation to find that the result has been the improvement of the frame of society; and I have seen quite enough of savage life to be convinced, that for the Hottentot huts of Kolben's picture, the Hottentot square of my map is no bad substitute;—nor does Le Vaillant's truly French description of Pampoen Kraal raise in me the least desire to see that terrestrial Paradise re-peopled by its primitive inhabitants.

The natural history (and particularly the botany) of this Colony has had its full share of investigation, both in its former and latter days, in the works of Thunberg and Sparrman, of Lichtenstein and Burchell,—though their remarks are by no means confined to these subjects; but it is in the well-known and valuable publication of Barrow that we are first presented with a comprehensive and statesman-like view of the Colony. The travels of the Missionary Campbell are chiefly valuable for the information they contain on the subject of the tribes beyond the colonial boundaries; but the work to which I feel most indebted for shortening my labours on my return from my *Country* travels is the publication entitled "The State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822;" for all that I could say on the subject of the *Town* and its buildings, of the people and their habits,* of the Colony in general, its Government and politics, has therein been so recently, and so very well detailed, that I may safely refer the reader to it as a generally correct view of the subject at the time it was written; merely noticing some circumstances of importance which have occurred since that period, and stating some points where my opinions do not quite coincide with those of the author.

Of the general appearance and topography of Cape Town I have endeavoured to give the reader a competent idea in the plates and wood-engravings inserted in different parts of the work. The frontispiece, and the view of the Commercial Exchange and Table Mountain, have been already mentioned in the preface. The plan of Cape Town (engraved on stone) is from an actual survey, and gives a most correct notion of the localities of the town:—in one corner is a small vignette engraving, showing the appearance of the town in 1709, taken from a plate in Kolben's work, and which forms an amusing contrast to its present appearance;—in another corner is a view of my residence and house of business, which gives a very good idea

* A summary of the present population of Cape Town, of the Cape District, and of the Colony in general, will be found in the Appendix.



GEORGE THOMPSON'S PLAN of CAPE TOWN and its ENVIRONS.

Published Feb.ʳʸ 1827 by H. Colburn, London.

of the respectable class of houses in Cape Town, with the exception of its being one story higher than usual. As a representation of a country seat of the superior class of Dutch inhabitants I have given a view of the house of D. Van Reenen Esq., situated about six miles from Cape Town, on the Newlands road,—than which few houses are better known, both to occasional visitors, and to the inhabitants of the Colony,—the owner of it uniting the frank hospitality of the old Dutch colonist with the enterprising spirit of modern times.* A drawing of Newlands, the country residence of the Governor, and a wood engraving of a small marine villa at Camp's Bay,† occasionally occupied by his Excellency, are also given; and these, with the vignettes of the Calvinist Church,‡ and of the Lighthouse at Green Point, altogether afford a very fair criterion of Cape architecture, to which the Observatory now erecting will form a splendid addition.

Of the habits and customs of the Cape-Dutch in Cape Town and its vicinity, I need only say they are becoming every day more decidedly English, and, of course, less like the picture drawn of them in the recent work above-mentioned; though, very probably, when seen from the elevated point of view which the author is supposed to hold in Cape society, his delineation of them may be a very natural one. But to those whose more humble situation in life has placed them in closer contact with these people, it will be a matter of regret if they ever so entirely change, as to lose some of their present characteristics. They are a frank and hospitable, and at the same time a prudent and thrifty race; and however vulgar the notion of buying and selling may be, such habits are surely more fitted to promote the interests of an infant society, and therefore less obnoxious to ridicule, than that supercilious affectation of gentility, which not unfrequently hides beneath its aristocratic garb as much avarice and meanness as can be found in the most sordid

* *Vide* page 312. † Page 393. ‡ Page 380.

"*smous*" of the Colony. Whatever may be a Cape-Dutchman's love of money, and whatever trickery may be imputed to him in its acquisition, I believe there are few Englishmen of business who have not lost infinitely less by their dealings with them, than with their own more liberal and dashing countrymen; though, in justice to England, it may perhaps be remarked, that the brightest examples of the national character for steadiness are not always found in her colonies. I am, indeed, rather inclined to think that the least reputable transactions of the Cape-Dutch community have been brought to light rather in their official, than in their commercial society; and therefore I have some consolation in reflecting on the great improvement that must take place among the Dutch civilians in process of time, if they keep steadily in view the examples of integrity and disinterestedness set them by their English associates in office,—however much the love of money may prevent the trading part of the community from emulating the high character usually ascribed to the English merchant; an example of which (according to this author) is far from being set them by the English traders of the Colony, whose inflated pride, luxury, and extravagance, form so prominent and facetious a feature in his portraiture of Cape society. I cannot also but wonder that a sensitiveness to being rallied on his political degradation, which we should admire in an Englishman, should be added to the catalogue of the *faults* of the Cape-Dutch character. As a matter of pecuniary calculation, they have rather gained than lost by their political exchange; so that, "mix their motives" as you will, it would seem that there is at least one point upon which the Cape-Dutchman's avarice is not the paramount feeling.

It is not my intention to extend my travels into the thorny regions of Cape politics, but it can no longer be said that "Politics have no field in South Africa large enough for an Englishman." The establishment of two weekly independent newspapers has opened a theatre for political contest, which would never have been found in the tame official columns of a Government Gazette; and the

combatants appear to have set to on both sides without flinching. The measures of government are now as thoroughly canvassed as could be desired by the staunchest advocate for freedom of political discussion; and this, it is to be hoped, will insensibly produce some of those beneficial effects which the same system has diffused throughout the British empire. Were the conduct of the Colonial Government, however, to be the only matter of discussion in these journals, their general utility would be infinitely less than I think it promises to be. The heat of political animosity, which, from temporary causes, has made newspaper reading at the Cape more fashionable than it would otherwise have been, must insensibly cool; and the editors will have to trust to subjects of a less exciting, though perhaps of as useful a nature, wherewith to interest their readers; and from the experience we have had, there does not appear to be any deficiency of talent either in the editors, or the occasional contributors to these papers, which should make us despair of seeing the various subjects to which a newspaper is open, treated with judgment and propriety. *News* must often be scarce in a place like the Cape, and therefore when the few subjects of local interest and fashion are disposed of, and the advertisements, prices current, ship news, &c. inserted, there will still remain a considerable space to be filled with literary, or other interesting matter, which would probably never have fallen under the observation of the casual reader through any other channel; and upon the skill with which this part of the business is conducted, will depend much of the success of the rival journals. Whether the advantages of a free press in a Colony are to any great extent counterbalanced by corresponding evils, I leave others to discuss; but like many other moot points between the new and old schools, whatever becomes of the theory, the practice is established, and the freedom of the Cape press appears fixed upon a tolerably secure basis.

Another circumstance of still greater moment was the arrival, in July

1823, of his Majesty's Commissioners, J. T. Bigge, and W. M. G. Colebrooke, Esqrs., invested, by letters patent under the privy seal, with "full power and authority to inquire into all the laws, revenues, regulations, and usages prevailing in the Colony, and into every other matter in any way connected with the administration of the civil government, the state of the judicial, civil, military, and ecclesiastical establishments, revenues, trade, and internal resources thereof;" and the same document requires "the Governor, and all and every officer and minister within the Colony to be aiding and assisting in the due execution of the Commission."

Had their means of inquiry been confined to these official sources, and had it been conducted during the quiescent periods of the olden times, their task even then would have been no light one, though committed to hands whose patient and laborious spirit of inquiry entirely fitted them for the office. But arriving, as his Majesty's Commissioners did, at a time when the recently imported English leaven was fermenting the whole mass, their labours must have been increased beyond all measure by the quantity of volunteer information poured in upon them. Nor was their situation, from this cause, less delicate than laborious, abounding, as the Colony did, from the peculiar circumstances of the period, with complaints, not only of the system of government, but of those who administered it, which they could neither shut their ears against, without violating the spirit of their commission, nor listen to without encouraging the newly raised spirit of resistance to a Government now no longer considered as of paramount authority.

Did not the history of both ancient and modern republics show us how compatible with their own boasted freedom is the practice of the greatest tyranny over others, we might feel some surprise, that from a country which laid the foundation of her own liberty at the expense of so much blood and treasure, should have emanated a system of government so despotic as that of

the Dutch colonies, where the gallows,* the branding-iron, and the whipping-post, appear to have been the common methods of enforcing subordination amongst the lower classes; while fines, imprisonment, and arbitrary banishment, secured the authorities against any annoyance from the more elevated ranks. That under such a system those possessed of influence should abuse it to their own emolument, is nothing wonderful; and, accordingly, we find peculation in all its shapes the besetting sin of those in power, and the most abject submission to every thing bearing even the shadow of authority, the characteristic mark of those placed without the official pale;—while the meddling and monopolizing spirit of a trading company, seeing in its own immediate profit the only end of government, frequently interfered in many of the more important transactions of private life.

That the mere transfer of such a *system* to English hands, however it might mitigate its brutality, should entirely put an end to its less revolting abuses, was hardly to be expected; to administer it without blame would have required, according to Pope Gregory's pun, "Non *Angli* sed *Angeli*;" and, consequently, we may suppose, that the Commissioners must have been occasionally mortified by the discovery of such evil fruits as a tree so corrupt, as I have been describing, could not fail of bringing forth, into whatever soil it might have been transplanted.

To the suggestions of the Commissioners may probably be attributed the recent change in the form of government, by the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, (the more immediate object of whose attention is to be the administration of the newly settled territories,) and of a council consisting of Sir John Truter the Chief Justice, Sir Richard Plaskett the Colonial Secretary,

* Two of these erections appear to have existed in former times. Whether there was constant use for both of them I know not, or whether they were only placed as a terror to evil-doers.

the second in command of the forces Lieutenant-Colonel Daniell, Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, W. Bentinck Esq. Auditor-General, and J. W. Stoll Esq. Receiver-General; the chief civil and military officers of the Colony.

To the governed, this can scarcely fail to be of advantage; while to any Governor it must be satisfactory, as a means of diverting from him much of that popular odium, which is too apt to attribute to the personal feelings of a chief magistrate, measures which may arise from a totally different source. Other changes in offices of less moment will, doubtless, take place; but, though far from feeling indifferent to the nature of the Government under which I am destined to pass some considerable period of my life, I must confess I look with much less interest for that part of the Commissioners' Report, which may embrace those subjects popularly denominated "Politics," than I do for that portion of their labours, which will doubtless refer to the internal and commercial resources of the Colony, which they have had so good an opportunity of thoroughly investigating. On their view of these subjects hinges much of the future welfare of the Cape. Their recommendations of any improvements may probably be followed up by the British Government with the same benevolent and judicious spirit, which dictated the formation of the Commission; and surely never did any unhappy settlement more require the kindly and fostering hand of the parent country than this Colony, whose misfortune it is to form no component part of the great "Interests" that are accustomed in England to unite for their common benefit or protection. Tamper with the rum, sugar, or slave population of the least of our American Islands, and the whole "West India Interest" is in arms. The philanthropy of the "East India Interest" is equally alive to the benefits to be derived from the free-labour cultivation of the tropical productions. Whether as to meal or malt, the carcase or the fleece, the "Agricultural Interest" takes especial care that rents shall not be lowered by any undue pressure upon the farmer or the

grazier;—while from Exeter and Leeds, from Manchester and Glasgow, Belfast and Dundee, to Norwich and Macclesfield, Birmingham and Sheffield, the cheap loaf, and a fair protection of our Home Trade, is the united watch-word of the Manufacturing Interest. The long-cherished pride of our maritime superiority generates in every English heart the strongest sympathy when any evils threaten the "Shipping Interest," however much cheap freights, and universal freedom of commerce, may be applauded by the thorough-bred "Mercantile Interest," of the new school. Amidst the din of such conflicting demands, sometimes too unreasonable to be complied with, and their advocates too powerful to be silenced, it is less wonderful that the feeble voice of this isolated Colony should so faintly strike upon the deafened and distracted ears of ministers, than that they should have done her all the justice that more powerful claimants on their favour would permit them to do.

This has been strongly exemplified in the recent measures adopted with respect to the staple produce of the Colony—its WINES,—wherein the *Colonial* interests of the Cape cultivator have been sacrificed to those of the *foreign* wine-grower, in a way which would not have been tolerated in a contest between the Colonial spirits of the West Indies, and the foreign spirits of France or Holland. At a period when universal war made it doubtful how long we might be able to procure from our enemies, or our allies, a cheering glass to alleviate our troubles, it seemed good to His Majesty's Government to open at least one resource for our drooping spirits by giving every possible encouragement to the growth of wine, "to make glad our hearts," within our own territories; and accordingly, "by a Government Proclamation, issued 19th December, 1811, the cultivators and merchants of the Colony were directed to the subject of the wine trade, as a consideration, of all others, of the highest importance to its opulence and character;" and such proclamation, after authoritatively demanding from the

settlement a serious and lively attention to their interests, promised "*the most constant support and patronage on the part of Government,* and that no means of assistance should be left unattempted to improve the cultivation, and every encouragement given to honest industry and adventure, to establish the success of the Cape commerce "*in this her great and native superiority.*" This proclamation was followed up by the appointment of a Wine Taster and Examiner of Casks,—by the repeated publication of the best advice and information as to the best method of culture and the management of the wine,—by the offer of *premiums* to those who planted most largely, and those who produced the best wines,—by a promise that the old channels of this trade should be re-opened, and new ones found,—and by a variety of regulations, all evincing strongly the lively interest which Government took in promoting this trade, and which were fully ratified by the Act of July 1813, admitting Cape wines to entry at one-third the duties on Portugal Wines."*

The effects of these measures fully answered the expectations formed of them; the Colony rapidly advanced in wealth from the ready sale of its surplus produce, and additional property has since been embarked in this trade to the extent of at least half a million sterling; while, in England, the wine drinker of moderate means, driven from the use of the higher class of foreign wines, as well by their increased and increasing prime cost, as by the high rate of taxation, found in the equally wholesome, though perhaps less palatable produce of our Colony, a medium between the entire desertion of his accustomed habits, and a resort to the less gentlemanlike system of grog-drinking.

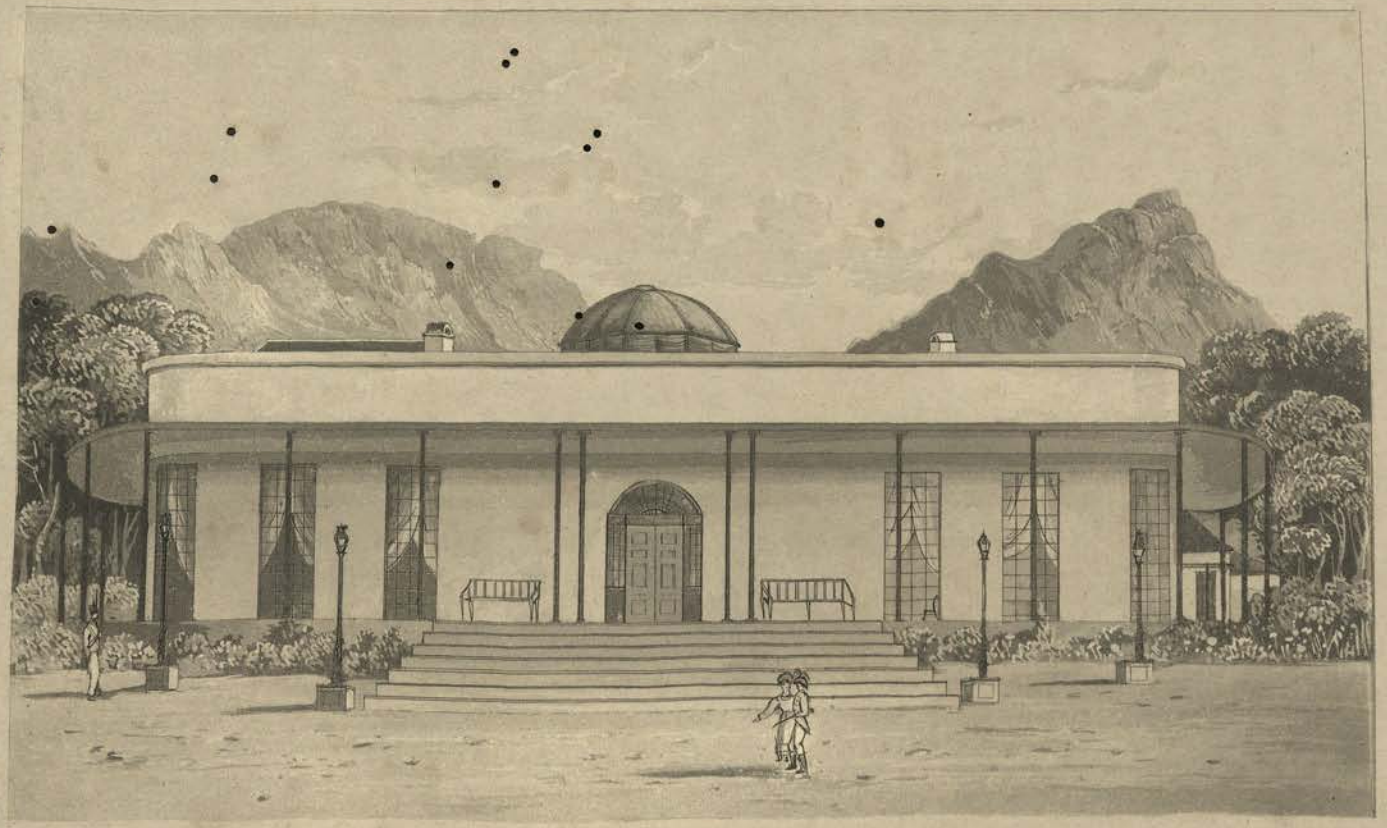
That the extension of the Colonial system to this new species of wine should give umbrage to those whose "craft was in danger" from its introduction, will excite little surprise; and consequently Cape wine has ever been

* Memorial to the Treasury in 1824.

marked out as an object of execration by the "Foreign Wine Trade,"—its quality traduced, and the dangers of frauds upon the revenue pointed out to Government with a dexterity which, coming from a quarter so practically conversant in the "tricks of the trade," could not but be perfectly convincing. The consequence of this organized hostility was, than when the duties on foreign wines were lowered nearly one half, and the Cape duties left at their old rate, the interviews between the Cape merchants, and those with whom the power of relief rested, very much resembled the parley between Yorick and the mendicant Friar—"But the *best reason* of all was, I was *predetermined* not to give him a single sous."

The palpable cruelty of prematurely withdrawing a protection which at once depreciated the value of each person's property, who had been *tempted* to invest it in this now proscribed article, to the extent of at least one-third, drew forth from the Colonial Department, highly to the credit of their humanity, very strong remonstrances upon the subject. But it had become a Treasury question; and *there* its insignificance amid the press of the more important matters affecting the enormous revenue of Great Britain, could not procure for it the same favourable attention; and the decision, which was attended with such fatal consequences, was lightly justified, both in and out of Parliament, by sarcastic remarks upon the wretched trash under consideration, or upon the iniquities of adulteration, to such an extent, that the rank fiery Sherry, the acid north-side Madeira, the meagre Teneriffe of former days, were no longer to be found at the taverns neat as imported. Whether before the introduction of Cape wine any method existed of at once defrauding the revenue, and adding to their own profits by the mixture of ingredients more pernicious than the juice of the Colonial grape, is best known to "the trade;" but they have been sadly libelled from the days of the "limed-sack" of Falstaff, to the modern times of sloe-juiced Port, if the introduction of Cape wine has been the first thing that has led them into temptation.

As to the intrinsic bad quality of Cape wine, as furnishing a reason for driving it out of consumption altogether, I must contend that it is yet premature to form a judgment. The only well-founded complaint I have ever heard of it is a certain earthy flavour, disagreeable to the English palate, in a great part of the wines (for some are entirely free from it); and in regard to the causes of this, there is such a diversity of opinions, of which a long course of practical experiments can alone determine the correctness, that the space of about a dozen years (during which short term only, has any attempt been made to discover a remedy) seems scarcely sufficient to enable us to come to a fair conclusion. That the praiseworthy efforts now making by his Excellency the Governor, the Commissioners of Inquiry, and other leading persons of the Colony, to promote the improvement both of its wines and spirits, by the establishment of a committee, consisting as well of gentlemen of the highest chemical attainments, as of those who have long been extensively engaged in the practical details of the trade, will in a reasonable time be productive of favourable results, I have no doubt. In the mean time the Cape of Good Hope has at least as good a claim to a full and adequate protection to her staple produce, as any other of our more influential colonies, whose liquid or solid productions are forced upon the home market by protecting duties. The loss of property has already been but too considerable, and still farther depreciation must take place in 1830, when an additional duty of *twenty-five per cent.* is to be levied, unless the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury can be induced to reconsider the question.



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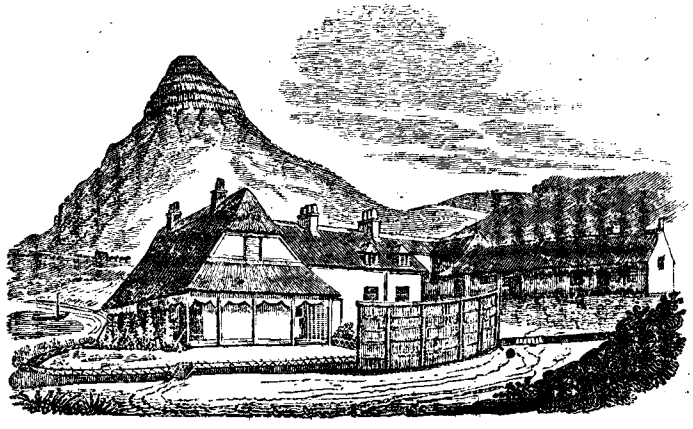

CHAPTER V.

THE CORN TRADE,—CURRENCY,—AND BANKS.

In the general review of the Laws of the Customs, in 1825, for which every commercial man has so much reason to feel grateful to those who undertook so laborious and invidious a task, the Cape, mainly through the exertions of its agent, T. P. Courtenay, Esq., M.P. received its due share of consideration; and its produce, with *one* exception, obtained the protection in the home market, to which, as a British Colony, it was entitled; but, with respect to this *one*, the apprehended opposition of another great "Interest" stood in the way of her just claims. It will be remembered that, as an encouragement to agriculture in our North American Colonies, their wheat was, in 1825, admitted to entry in England at a duty of *5s.* per quarter.

No reason could be adduced in support of this measure, which did not apply with equal force to the admission of grain from the Cape; while one principal argument against it,—viz. the smuggling of corn from the United States into Canada, could not possibly apply to the Cape, as there are no adjacent foreign settlements from whence it could be sent there. Still, though nothing can be more chimerical than the fear of Cape corn producing any serious effect upon the distant and extensive markets of Great Britain, the Cape was not of sufficient weight to put to hazard the intended benefit to the more important Colonies of British America, by attempting to include her produce in the same Bill. I am too sensible of the good will towards the Colony, of those with whom it would have rested to bring forward the measure, as well as of the difficulties they have to encounter in every the slightest approximation to a more free trade in corn, to presume to censure their decision of postponing to a future and more favourable opportunity, the extension of this benefit to the Cape. The narrow escape of the Canada Corn Bill, perhaps, fully vindicates the correctness of their judgment. I only mention the circumstance to show that, powerless as this Colony is, those who are best inclined to serve her, cannot always do so in opposition to more powerful claimants.

No favourable scale of duties, however, can be productive of much benefit, till an alteration of system takes place in the Colony itself, where the trade in corn has hitherto been in a situation which must, so long as it continues, not only preclude it from becoming an exporting country, but occasionally subject it to those seasons of scarcity, sometimes approaching to famine, under one of which it is at the present moment smarting. The Burgher Senate annually procures a return of the quantity of corn on hand in the Colony; and having ascertained from the population returns the number of mouths to consume it, a proclamation is issued by the Govern-

ment, stating what quantity (if any) may be exported before the next harvest. In consequence, no one grows more than he is likely to find vent for in the home market; for what merchant would be at the pains of procuring a regular foreign market for an article, which, after all, he finds himself precluded from sending, except now and then in dribblets, by these paltry regulations? The upshot of all this is, that whenever a scanty harvest occurs, instead of the corn grown for exportation being kept in the Colony,—by the high price it would naturally command in the home-market, the vacuum is obliged to be filled up by ruinous importations of foreign corn. Were the exportation of corn at all times free, and were the English market open to it at a low duty, it would stimulate the farmer to produce, and the dealer to speculate in purchasing, a quantity which he could generally get rid of, at something like a remunerating price, for shipment to England,—should the home-market, and the nearer and more profitable export markets of the Mauritius, St. Helena, and Brazil, be glutted by an oversupply.

As to any danger of the Colony being in want of bread from the export of too large a quantity of its grain, I must confess myself to be very sceptical, and shall continue so till I find the Colony without wine for its home consumption, from the great encouragement that has been given to *its* exportation;—for whatever has been advanced, and I think very rashly, as to the incapacity of the Cape for producing corn abundantly, it appears to me that there is very little more danger in the one case than in the other. At any rate, as the old system has not had the effect either of producing regular prices, or of averting occasional scarcity, it might be worth while to try the effect of a new one; and, let what will happen, we can but resort at last, *as we are now doing*, to the harvests of Europe and India.

The final arrangement of the long agitated question of the paper cur-

rency of the Colony, is too remarkable an event to be passed over in silence, though I am far from intending to tax the patience of my readers by entering into any lengthened discussion.*

It may be desirable to inform those who are not familiar with this subject, that the colonial paper rix-dollar of the Cape, first issued by the Dutch East India Company in 1781, was declared to be equal to forty-eight full weighed pennies of Holland, (about 4*s*. sterling,) and which, under all its fluctuations, has generally been considered to be its *nominal* value.

At the period of the first British capture in 1795, the amount in circulation was

Rix-dollars 611,276—The balance of the issues and repayments of various sums issued for the public service.

Rix-dollars 680,000—Which has been issued as a capital to the Lombard Bank, and by it lent to the public on mortgage.

Together 1,291,276 Rix-dollars.

Whatever may have been the fitness of this sum for the circulation of the Colony under the Dutch Government, the sudden and large increase of the business it had to perform, in consequence of the influx of so large an additional population as the British forces, appears to have suggested to Sir James Craig the expediency of increasing the nominal amount, rather than incur the loss of issuing treasury bills at a discount;—and consequently a further issue of

Rix-dollars 25,000 took place for the public service;
8,000 for purchase of rice during a season of scarcity;
165,000 additional capital to the Lombard Bank:—

* Those who wish to see this matter minutely discussed, cannot do better than consult a pamphlet written by Lieut. P. Warden Grant, of the Hon. East India Company's Revenue Survey department, published at Cape Town—a work highly creditable to the colonial press.

In all, 495,000 rix-dollars issued by the British Government during their occupation of the Colony. This large increased issue, though perhaps required for a temporary purpose, appears to have exceeded the demand for a permanency, and had the effect of depreciating the currency to the extent of twenty or thirty per cent. when Lord Macartney checked any farther fall, by granting Treasury Bills at twenty per cent. premium; and when the Colony was restored to the Dutch at the peace of Amiens in 1803, a full equivalent for such part of the currency as had been issued for the purposes of the British Government, was paid in military and naval stores.

No reduction, however, appears to have been effected by the Dutch Government, but in 1804 the whole currency was entirely recalled, and a new paper issued, which is said to have amounted, at the capture by the British forces in 1806, to about 2,000,000 rix-dollars, of which 845,000 was bank capital. That this was a far greater nominal amount than was required for the diminished circulation of the Colony, after the retirement of the British garrison, is evident from the rate of exchange and the price of bullion during the period of the Dutch re-occupation,—bills on Holland being sometimes at a premium of 160, reducing the rix-dollar to little more than 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling, and it being no uncommon circumstance for those who wished to take away bullion from the Colony, to give ten and twelve rix-dollars for an English guinea, or two and a half and three rix-dollars for one Spanish dollar.

That a conquering government should intend to bind itself to redeem at 4*s.* sterling, a currency so depreciated as this, seems very improbable; and any pledge to "uphold its value" would seem to imply little more than a promise not to depreciate it by farther issues. The assertion of the rix-dollar having risen nearly to par, *upon the faith* of the British proclamation, in 1806, seems hardly well founded; the expenditure caused by the presence of so large a military and naval force as that which captured the Cape, together

with the increased freedom of trade, would have been sufficient to produce this effect upon a currency whose nominal amount continued stationary; and its subsequent depreciation, without any alteration with respect to the "pledge," is a proof that its quantity, and not the public confidence, was the criterion of its value.

Between 1810 and 1814, another 1,000,000 was issued through the Lombard Bank. The evil consequences of thus adding 50 per cent. to the nominal amount in circulation, though sufficiently apparent in the following years, were materially checked by the very high value to which the wine of the Colony was raised, by its admission at low duties into the British market, as well as by the great impulse which was given to the trade and agriculture of the Colony, by the detention of Buonaparte at Saint Helena; and it was not till his death, and the departure of the garrison from thence, and till the operation of peace-prices upon every article of European import as well as of colonial produce, was fully established, that the evil effects of this measure were entirely developed. The value of the rix-dollar gradually sunk in exchange, till in the year 1825 it appears to have reached its lowest point of depression, viz. below 1*s.* 5*d.*

On the 6th of June, 1825, an ordinance was published by the Governor in council, stating that "His Majesty's Government had determined to establish the British currency as the circulating medium of all the colonial possessions of the crown; and had farther been pleased to order and direct, that the British silver money shall be a legal tender in this Colony in discharge of all debts due to individuals and to the public, at the rate of ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE for each rix-dollar, and so in proportion for any greater or less sum;" and ordering in consequence, that tables should be printed, stating the relative value of the paper rix-dollar, and the lesser proportions thereof, with British money; and that all public accounts should

be kept, and all contracts made for the public service, in pounds, shillings, and pence, from the 1st of January, 1826.

In the same Gazette it was announced by the Commissary, that Treasury Bills would be granted at the rate of one hundred pounds for each one hundred and three pounds, paid in at the rate of one shilling and sixpence per rix-dollar. The promulgation of these measures caused, as may be supposed, no small sensation in the Colony, both amongst those who had been speculating upon the matter as a question of political economy, and those whose speculations were of a less disinterested nature.

Entirely to justify, upon any sound *theory*, either the excessive issue of this currency, or the neglect of recalling it gradually, when its evil consequences had long been so apparent, is impossible; the former may, perhaps, be *palliated* by the consideration, that during the same period, the sanction of the greatest names and the highest authority was given in England to the false system of *her* depreciated currency; and it is too much to expect that the Governors of a Colony should have been "wiser in their generation" than the ruling powers at home. The continuance of the system can only be defended by the same kind of rhetoric, that was opposed in Parliament by an honourable member (to whom, singularly enough, the Cape dissentients in 1825 have entrusted the advocacy of their cause,) to the sound logic of Mr. Huskisson, in his speech on the Bullion Report, in 1811, when he so ably illustrated those unchangeable principles of honesty and common sense, which, through evil report and good report, he has at last had the satisfaction of seeing triumphantly carried into practice,—and brought to the support of his own arguments the opinions of some of the most acute reasoners of former days. "The country," said the honourable member, "is in such a fictitious state, as to every part of its political economy, that she cannot go on with a circulation adapted to legitimate purposes: to talk, in such a situation, of the theories

of Locke and Newton, is not less absurd than the reasoning of an honourable gentleman, last night, who carried the house back to the days of *Moses*."

I shall therefore merely advert to the *practical* effects of this measure, and endeavour to show that if an immediate settlement of the currency, as a part of a general colonial measure, had become necessary, the *mode* fixed on is less objectionable, than at first it appears to be.

This arrangement has been compared to a composition of seven and sixpence in the pound with the creditors of the Government: I cannot see it in this extreme point of view. The value of the Dutch 2,000,000 rix-dollars, for so I cannot help calling them, was depreciated to a metallic value of from two shillings and three-pence to two shillings and sixpence, before the British 1,000,000 rix-dollars was issued, (certainly no good reason for making bad worse,) the premium on Treasury bills being twenty-five per cent., reducing the *nominal* value of the rix-dollar to three shillings. These Treasury Bills were paid in the currency of Great Britain, then depreciated twenty-five per cent. more; a circumstance which appears to have been generally overlooked in discussing the value of the rix-dollar; and I believe that a comparison of its price with the Spanish dollar will not show a very different result. I cannot, therefore, see why it is imperative upon the Colonial Government to pay four shillings in the *reformed* sterling coin of Great Britain, for what, when issued, was not worth half-a-crown,—and to call upon all debtors either to individuals or to itself, (and the Government, through the medium of the Lombard Bank, is creditor for nearly two-thirds of the whole currency,) immediately to pay their debts at this extravagant rate. This would be so striking a hardship, that in the quarters from whence the greatest opposition has arisen, it has been suggested, (totally abandoning the *principle,)* that an immediate calling in of the whole of the currency, at two shillings or two shillings and sixpence, would have been a very satisfactory arrangement:—doubtless it would have been so, to those long-sighted per-

sons, who had been laying up rix-dollars in store, or selling goods at unusually long credits, at low prices, in the expectation that the Government, whose attention, they expected, had been called to the subject by His Majesty's Commissioners, would take some such step as this before the day of payment came round. But what was to become of the unfortunate debtors upon recent contracts, forming *by far the greatest bulk of the Community*, when called on to pay one-third more than they had bargained for, without any increase in the value of the commodity they had purchased? and how would it have saved the credit of the Government with the theorist, to whom the payment of a dividend of fifteen shillings would have been as great a scandal as a payment of five shillings in the pound? In fact, no measure, the operation of which, in raising the value of the currency, would not have been as gradual as the depreciation, could have been resorted to, without causing as much mischief in the rise, as had been created in the fall.

It appears to me that the entire change in the denomination in which accounts were to be kept, and contracts made in future, afforded an opportunity for the *gradual* redemption of the rix-dollar; and I regret, as well for the sake of individuals, as of the Government, on whom so much odium has been attempted to be cast, that nothing of this kind was resorted to. The Government might have issued an entirely new British currency, either in silver or paper, upholding its value, as it now does, by the issue of Treasury Bills, at a premium to cover the expenses of transporting bullion; all previous contracts might have been ordered to be paid in rix-dollars; the final redemption of the rix-dollar, at four shillings, fixed for a distant period; and a *gradually increasing* scale might have been calculated of the prices at which government would, at all times, previous to that period, either receive or issue the rix-dollar against the new currency,—taking care to calculate these rates so as to form an inducement rather for the early bringing in of the rix-dollar, than for its being kept back. I am inclined to think that this would even have

been preferable to the issuing of debentures, bearing interest, in exchange for the paper currency, as has been suggested, both by the intelligent editor of "The State of the Cape in 1822," and by a commercial gentleman in his proposals to Government; as it would have enabled those holders of rix-dollars, who cannot, or will not understand that any thing short of receiving four silver shillings for one paper rix-dollar is a fraud upon them, to realize at some period their notion of a rix-dollar; and at the same time it would have enabled those who know the value of compound interest, to take advantage of the present payment. It is true, that by these means eighteen or twenty years might have elapsed before the rix-dollar was finally disposed of; but most of the hardships that a more sudden rise might have caused would have been avoided, and the good faith of the Government would have been esteemed by the most prejudiced as untarnished. The settlement of this question at the time it took place, prevented, I have little doubt, a still farther decline in the value of the rix-dollar, which would have been caused by the announcement *at the same time*, of the unfavourable change of duties on wines in England; and though some cases of very great individual hardship can no doubt be shown, I am satisfied on the whole, that *if an immediate settlement was necessary*, the price at which the rix-dollar was fixed, was *practically* the least injurious to the community at large.*

In arguing this question between debtor and creditor, it is painful to me to differ from so highly respectable a body as the "Capitalists" of the Cape, or to appear as an opponent to those who enter the lists as the champions of the "widow and orphan;" but I cannot help suggesting that the hard-working man of little or no capital, who was trading upon a stock of goods, or had purchased a farm or a house upon the strength of his credit and indus-

* Since the above was written, I have seen the report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, published by order of the House of Commons, 26th May, 1826, which, I am happy to observe, coincides in a great measure with the view I have taken of the subject.

try, was as much entitled to protection against an increase of the value of the rix-dollar, as the Capitalist was against its decrease; and I can see no reason why the widows and orphans of the past generation should be benefited at the expense of those who are now bringing up children, and may possibly leave *them* orphans, with a property diminished by the effects of another sudden fluctuation. In what I have stated on this subject, and which I really do with the greatest diffidence, after the able way in which the question has been handled on both sides, I have at least the satisfaction of having given a disinterested opinion. From the nature of the business in which my house is engaged, we scarcely ever owe money in the Colony; and it would have been very pleasant to me to have collected many thousand pounds of book debts at so great an advance on the rix-dollar as has been talked of, if it could have been done without the ruin of our debtors; but I fear, like most other selfish schemes, it would only have proved to be another illustration of the fable of the Goose and the Golden Eggs.

Before the decision of Government became publicly known, a plan was matured in London, by a gentleman of great experience in the mercantile affairs of the Colony, for the establishment of a bank at Cape Town, one of the operations of which was to have been to facilitate a redemption of the colonial currency; but His Majesty's Government not having found this co-operation necessary to their arrangements, this part of the plan fell to the ground, and it was afterwards confined to the formation of a corporate bank, upon the solid basis of a metallic currency. The capital was proposed to be raised in shares in England, and at the Cape; and it is to be lamented that such an accession of capital as would have flowed into the Colony by this means, has been withheld from it by the want of success in England, where the scheme was scarcely developed before those events took place which gave people full employment for their money nearer home; and at the Cape it seems not to have met with that encouragement which was anticipated by its

projector, either from the Government or the public. The utility of some such establishment is, however, so apparent, that another project has emanated from an association in the Colony itself, founded upon principles equally sound, and which has the public opinion greatly in its favour. The minor details would be uninteresting to general readers, and the following abstract of the prospectus will be sufficient to explain its principles:—

"It is proposed to raise by subscription the capital sum of 50,000*l.*, in 500 shares of 100*l.* each, and to give an additional support to the credit of the bank, by unexceptionable security in the title-deeds or mortgages on estates, or fixed property, to the full amount of each and every share,—such securities to be deposited, at the time of payment of the first instalment, in the custody of trustees to be elected by the proprietors, whereby every share will be composed of 100*l.* in money, and the like amount in landed security;"—"no person to hold more than twenty shares of the stock. The bank is not to engage in any kind of trade, or be connected in any kind of agency for the buying and selling of merchandize, or fixed or moveable property; but its business is to be confined to the discounting, at the discretion of the Board of Directors, if approved, promissory notes and acceptances at a date not exceeding three months;

"The discounting the acceptances of the Vendue department;

"The giving credit on cash accounts, under unexceptionable security, for a period not exceeding three months, on the Scotch banking principle; and—

"The issuing and circulating notes to a prescribed and limited amount, payable on demand in the legal currency of the Colony.

"The bank paper issues shall not exceed the sum of 100,000*l.* sterling; or the amount of the capital and security to be issued in notes of not less than one pound for the present, payable on demand in the legal currency of the Colony.

" As security to the public, there will exist at all times, *besides the responsibility of the proprietors,*

" The capital stock of 50,000*l.*;

" The securities in the custody of trustees, equivalent to 50,000*l.*; and further,

" The promissory notes, vendue acceptances, and other available securities and choses in action, received in lieu of the paper issues, constituting a value which, under a direction subject to the half-yearly inspection of every proprietor, must be considered ample and undeniable security."

Whether the capital required can be conveniently abstracted from other profitable employment of stock by the monied inhabitants, and whether in a country where so great a proportion of the real property is already under mortgage to the Government, landed security can readily be found in the same hands to give the required additional security, seem to be the only reasons why its success need be doubted; and it is satisfactory to know that half the sum has already been subscribed by substantial people.

Independent of the benefits which would be derived by the owners of moderate sums of money, who would have an opportunity which they now want, of *securely* placing out their money at interest, where they could receive it back at pleasure, and of the facilities offered to the trading part of the community by cash accounts, an establishment of this kind would contribute more than any thing else to a regularity in the payment of bills and notes of hand, the non-payment of which, when passing through the hands of a board of directors, would be felt by a tradesman as a dishonour, and if he had an account with the bank, as destructive to his credit,—which, at present, is looked upon as no more compromised by a *faux-pas* of this kind, than by the temporary delay of the payment of an open or unadjusted account. We need not, I believe, in *any* Colony look for that high tone of commercial feeling for which London and our large commercial cities are celebrated, but any approximation to it is highly to be desired.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE COLONY.—NATURAL ADVANTAGES AND OBSTRUCTIONS.—WINE DISTRICTS.—CORN DISTRICTS.—NATIVE FREE LABOURERS.—EXPORTABLE PRODUCE.—WHALE AND SEAL FISHERIES.—TRADE WITH THE CAFFER TRIBES.—NOTICES RESPECTING RAW SILK, SALTED PROVISIONS, &c. &c.

THE importance, and even the absolute necessity, in a military point of view, of the Cape of Good Hope being held by Great Britain as an outwork of her Eastern possessions, has been so clearly pointed out by a gentleman eminently qualified to appreciate its value, as well as to impress its importance on others, that I should deem it impertinent to add any thing to what the reader will find in Mr. Barrow's standard work. I will therefore proceed to consider its commercial importance, which I think has been much underrated.

That the Cape, if enjoying all the benefits of a free port, would become an emporium to which many of the nations to the westward, and particularly the rising states of South America, would resort for a supply of eastern produce, bringing in exchange the productions of their own country, its geographical position renders highly probable; and as applications are now making in a quarter where suggestions for the extension of British commerce are

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seldom made in vain, there is little doubt that this important privilege will ere long be granted to the Colony.

Times of profound peace, however, and that improved rapidity of commercial communication which has brought distant nations so much nearer each other, and enabled them to carry on a direct trade, are, perhaps, not very favourable to an early increase of the commerce of the Cape as an emporium; and the more so, as it would require a much larger portion of British capital to be diverted into that channel, than is likely to find its way there. I shall, therefore, rather consider the capabilities of the Colony for carrying on a direct trade with the mother country, and with the other markets to which its commerce is opened,—and its fitness for a station of refreshment for ships trading to and from the East Indies, and for vessels engaged in the southern fishery, and in the distant voyages to the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

The principal circumstances which *appear* to militate against the agriculture and commerce of the Cape, are the large quantity of sterile, uncultivated land within its boundaries, and the want of navigable rivers for the conveyance of its produce to the ports of shipment, as well as of secure harbours for the shelter of the shipping which resort there. Nature, however, provident in all her works, has not failed to find a means of transport for the commodities of most of those districts which she has not doomed to irreclaimable barrenness, or to a pastoral state; and the finest parts, both of the Colony, and of those countries which will, probably, in the progress of civilization, be added to it, lie so contiguous to a sea-coast of six or seven hundred miles in length, on which a vessel scarcely ever finds herself on a lee-shore, as greatly to supply the want of inland navigation; while the extreme cheapness of land-carriage, and the general excellence of the roads in the Colony, render the conveyance of produce, from the interior to the coast, much less expensive than would be imagined at first sight.

If the reader will cast his eye over the map, he will perceive that within a line drawn from the junction of the Cradock and Gariep rivers southward nearly to the Sneeuwberg, and from thence following the line of the Nieuwveld mountains to the westward and north-west, as far as Hantam, and from thence to the sea, following which to the mouth of the Gariep, and from thence along its course eastward, which seems to form the natural northern boundary of the Colony,—nearly the whole of that enormous tract is totally unfit for the subsistence of any considerable population. The great inclined plain, leading from the Nieuwveld to the Gariep river, is subject to almost continual drought; and the mountain ranges, and their immediate vicinity, though admirably adapted for the pasturage of cattle, are yet quite unfitted for the subsistence of any but a pastoral and partly wandering race. In addition to which, the hungry lands of the Bokkeveld, Roggeveld, and Great Karroo, comprehend a large territory not included within this line. No produce is, therefore, likely to come from these districts, except such as possesses, within itself, the power of locomotion.

The principal wine districts, the produce of which, notwithstanding all that has been said against it, will still, I trust, maintain its rank as the staple commodity of the Colony, lie within a distance of thirty to forty miles from Cape Town; viz. in the Stellenbosch district, along the skirts of the chain of Hottentots' Holland Mountains,—the wine farms beginning at Hottentots' Holland, and continuing through Stellenbosch, Banghoek, Franschehoek, Drackenstein, and the Paarl, to Waggon-maker's Valley. And though the roads are bad, lying chiefly through a deep sand, and require eighteen oxen to convey two leaguers, of 152 gallons each, occupying two or three days to perform the journey, yet, considering the cheap rate of carriage in that country, they are still sufficiently near to Cape Town to establish that beyond competition as the wine port of the Colony. The other parts that produce the wine, are the skirts of Table Mountain, Constantia, and its neighbour-

hood, Houts' Bay, and Tiger Berg. These latter places chiefly produce the favourite wines, such as Hock and sweet Muscadels, while the more distant farms above-mentioned, produce the common wine, denominated Cape Madeira and Pontac. The extension of this species of cultivation to other districts of the Colony, after the late severe check upon its prosperity, is, I think, for the present at least very doubtful.

The principal corn districts are, the Blue-Berg, Koeberg, Zwartland, and Twenty-four Rivers, all in the Cape district; the produce of which comes chiefly by land to Cape Town, though capable of partial transport by sea, at least from the districts in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. These are at present the principal granaries of the Colony. But the greater part of the districts of George and Swellendam are equally capable of producing corn abundantly: the soil is well fitted for it, and the rains which fall in the season of its growth along the whole eastern coast of the Colony, do not render irrigation so indispensable in the process of agriculture, as it is to the northward of the chain of mountains which intercept the refreshing showers brought by the south-east wind.

For the ready conveyance of grain to a distant market, the Breede River, which falls into the sea at Port Beaufort, and is navigable for vessels of two hundred tons, furnishes abundant means as far as respects the district of Swellendam; while Mossel Bay is a sufficiently secure place for shipping the produce of such parts of George as are capable of growing corn.

Nearly the whole of the district of Uitenhage is also well suited for the successful cultivation of corn: and the Zwartkops River, which falls into Algoa Bay, furnishes a means of inland water-carriage for nearly fifteen miles from its mouth. The district of Albany, though under present circumstances so much better adapted for grazing, could yet, were the rust extirpated, and external demand to arise, undoubtedly furnish a very considerable surplus quantity of grain. And the country along the coast between the

Fish River and Keiskamma, as far as I can judge from personal inspection, as well as from the reports of many intelligent persons who have visited it, is equally well, or better adapted for the purposes of agriculture. There are, therefore, no impediments that I am aware of, except the restrictions on the corn trade, already alluded to, and the want of a labouring population to cultivate the ground, which prevent the Cape from producing corn in superabundance. How the latter impediment is to be speedily got over in the Dutch districts, I do not see very plainly. The settlement of British emigrants there by Government, is not practicable to any considerable extent; because the whole country, except some small tracts already noticed, is in the possession of the boors; and the increase of the population, unless a large spontaneous influx should take place from Britain, must be very gradual. The readiest means which occurs to me for a farther supply of labour, (provided there be no prospect of obtaining it from Europe,) is the receiving into these districts as indentured servants or apprentices, refugees from the Bechuana and Caffer tribes. Above a thousand fugitives from different nations have already been received into the districts of Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, and Albany; and pressed as the border tribes now appear to be by the weight of those behind them, there will perhaps eventually be no alternative, but either their entire destruction between the British force on the frontier, and the savage invaders behind, or allowing them to be peaceably scattered through the Colony on some plan that will secure at once their general usefulness and their good treatment. From whatever cause it arises, whether from the redundancy of the population, in consequence of the stoppage of the slave trade on the north-east coast, or from the conquering chiefs of that quarter driving the weaker tribes to the south-west, certain it is, that the southern tribes are pressed upon from the north by a weight which they cannot withstand; and as such events as the irruption of the Mantatees may again, ere long, not improbably recur, it is desirable, if possible, to turn this evil to some good account. The

details of such a measure may be safely left to the consideration of the Colonial Government, but that humanity dictates, in the event contemplated, some steps to be taken to prevent the extermination of the tribes on the border by military execution or savage massacre, is sufficiently apparent.

Every reasonable expectation may be formed, that the population so introduced will be found superior to a *slave* population. At least this has hitherto been the case with the prize apprentices, who not only look upon themselves as a caste superior to the slaves, but are so esteemed by those in whose service they are. It is true, they are generally settled in and about Cape Town, and it is probable that the dispersion of the native refugees at a distance from the check, both of authority and public opinion, would operate unfavourably upon the conduct of the *master,* upon which, in most situations of society, either amongst slaves or freemen, much of the good or evil conduct of servants depends. But even the obstinacy objected against the Dutch boor, would not be entirely proof against the gradual amelioration which is taking place in society; and I am inclined to think, that no evils could arise which bear any comparison to the wretched fate these poor creatures are probably doomed to, unless something is done for their relief.

The importation of Chinese settlers has been advised, and no doubt these industrious people would be in many situations a great acquisition; but it seems very doubtful, whether they could be induced to serve as agricultural labourers to the boors. I have always understood that they have thriven best on allotments of land tilled for their own emolument; and here the same impediments present themselves, as with regard to English settlers; viz. the best lands are already allotted. As artificers, mechanics, and domestic servants, they would be highly useful in Cape Town, and the smaller towns. But I much doubt whether any emigration, conducted on a large scale, would not fail, from the same causes that were fatal to an experiment of the same kind at Trinidad.

A country so prolific in flocks and herds as the Cape, cannot but furnish a large supply of hides and skins; and these have accordingly, of late years, been a considerable article of export to Great Britain. The quality of the hides is in fair estimation, and the sheep and goatskins furnish a highly valuable material to the leather-dresser. This, from the nature of things, must be an increasing article of export, and capable of extension, by barter with the native tribes, till a higher state of civilization induces home manufacture to a greater extent than is now carried on. But in the article of wool the Cape is as yet far behind our Australian Colonies. The Cape sheep, it is well known, is covered rather with hair than wool; but its adaptation for its native climate, and the use made of the fat of its tail, render the Dutch farmers, who at best are not very fond of innovations, averse from changing this breed for one possessing the valuable property which the native sheep wants. Consequently, the experiments in introducing the Merino breed have chiefly been confined to the Government farms and a few places in their vicinity, where, though neither pains nor expense have been spared, the success has been far from encouraging. The wool appears to have degenerated, and from the nature of the country in which the experiments have been tried, it has been found so much clogged with sand, and with small decayed vegetable substances, as greatly to deteriorate its value in manufacture. This I am fully aware of, having sent home some wool, esteemed of good quality, which lost above half the weight in washing, and produced a cloth of about twelve shillings per yard in value, which I sold at the Cape, and the result paid me little more than five per cent. on the capital. Whether a greater share of success will attend the exertions which Captain Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, is making, yet remains to be seen. In Albany there are some Merino sheep; I believe the flock of Major Pigot is the most extensive, and I understand promises to succeed very well. I am, therefore, not without great hope, that, ere long, wool will furnish a more important article of export

from the Colony than it has yet done; and I think the sheep in the eastern provinces will not be so much annoyed by the sand as in the Cape district.*

Dried fruits are cured at the Cape in some perfection; and raisins, which form so valuable an article of commerce from the Mediterranean, ought, and probably will, under the protecting duty they enjoy, form a larger article of export to England than they have yet done. These, and some other fruits, have been sent in considerable quantities to St. Helena, the Mauritius, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, and in these channels the trade in them will probably increase; large quantities of them are also sold to the Indiamen as sea-stores. The extreme richness of the grapes, and probably some want of skill in the preparation, greatly limit their consumption as dessert fruit in England; but for the purposes of cookery none better can be found. Were the proper mode of curing raisins better understood at the Cape, there can be no doubt of success in this branch of commerce,—for whatever may be said of its wines, the grapes of the Colony are of the finest quality.

Argol, the quality of which has improved of late years, and the quantity of which might probably be a good deal increased, is another secondary article of export. Aloes are exported in large quantities. This drug is capable of production to a much larger extent than there can be any demand for, till some other use than a medicine for cattle be discovered for it. The plant grows wild, and is not, like the finer aloe of the West Indies, an object of cultivation. Its manufacture is so simple that any sudden demand is easily supplied.

These are the principal products of colonial industry which have hitherto been considered fit articles of export to England; and certainly it does not ap-

* Since the above was written, I have learned that these favourable anticipations are likely to be realized. Some of the wool sent home from the eastern districts, (which, with the Sneeuwberg and Nieuwveld, are the best sheep-walks of the Colony,) promises to be of a better quality than any hitherto raised near the Cape, and holds out the cheering prospect of this important produce becoming, ere long, one of the staple exports of the interior.

pear to furnish such a list as might be expected from its situation and climate. It may be questioned, however, whether it would conduce to the prosperity of the Cape, to divert from its natural channels that labour and capital which have proved beneficial, for the sake of producing a variety of articles, which, though suited to the *climate* of the Colony, are yet unfitted to its other circumstances.

The tea of China, the coffee of Java, the cotton of India, the tobacco of America, together with a long list of the productions of the southern countries of Europe, might all, it is believed, be successfully cultivated in different parts of the Colony. But it is not from these sources that the early prosperity of the Colony must arise, any more than from the iron, the copper, and other minerals which it is known to possess.* No one can be more averse than I am from throwing a damp upon the enterprising spirit, without which, no country can attain prosperity; but I am of opinion, that the articles I have just enumerated, are rather to be expected from the vigour of a maturer age, than from the infancy of the Colony. It may seem strange to use this term after a colonization of nearly two hundred years; but when it is considered, that the settlement is but just emancipated from the leading-strings of commercial monopoly, it will not appear to be ill applied.

There is another species of cultivation, and that a valuable one, which has been suggested by the editor of the "State of the Cape in 1822," of the favourable result of which I entertain no doubt,—I mean that of the silk-

* Copper is known to exist in abundance in Little and Great Namaqualand. According to the reports of the missionaries, native iron is to be found in the same quarter in considerable blocks, a circumstance I had but little faith in until I discovered that it was also found in that state in Siberia and Senegal. The mineral most likely to be first in request is that well known to exist on the Van Staade's River, between the Camtoos River and Algoa Bay,—being a rich vein of silver and lead. If it be true, as currently reported, that coal has been found on the Kromme River, not far west from Van Staade's River, it is possible, that ere long, some attempt may be made to work it. The acquisition of coal mines would, indeed, be invaluable to South Africa; they would furnish the means of smelting her ores, and supplying her steamers.

worm; and I am happy in the prospect that an attempt is now likely to be made, under circumstances which render its success highly probable. The white mulberry attains to the highest degree of perfection; the climate is precisely suitable to the worm, and a population well adapted for the tendance of these insects, is to be found in the Hottentots. It requires, in fact, nothing but a very few persons skilled in the art of winding the silk from the cocoons, to instruct others, and a proper set of machinery for the purpose, to insure the most perfect success. It fortunately demands no such very large capital to start upon, as might deter individuals from embarking in it, if a public company formed expressly for such purposes should decline the undertaking.

The whale fisheries on the coast, which have hitherto furnished an export to England, I am sorry to say, have become less productive in each succeeding year; and this trade, unless it is capable of being conducted on very different principles than the mere taking of the whales that come into the bays, is soon likely to be of little value to the Colony. At present, I think that agriculture forms a more profitable investment for the capital of the resident at the Cape; and the merchants generally connected with England, have their means otherwise engaged. South Sea whaling expeditions are carried on upon those principles of partnership between the owners and the crew, that they can only be settled on the ship's return *home;* and an absence of two or three years from England is quite as long as a seaman would generally be disposed to bind himself to. Whenever there is surplus capital among the Cape residents, this may be undertaken, I think, with great advantage, but not till then.

The seals which are caught on this coast afford skins of but indifferent quality, and these are likely rather to diminish than increase in quantity. The fish that swarm off the banks of the Cape, are entirely neglected as an article of foreign trade, though there is abundance of salt to cure them. Perhaps

the most profitable and extensive markets for this kind of produce are to be found too near to the fisheries of Europe and of North America, to admit of a successful competition.

To the export of articles to England, which I have already mentioned as the produce of the Colony itself, may be added the ivory, gum, and ostrich feathers, which form a lucrative branch of commerce between the settlers and the border tribes; being chiefly obtained in barter for beads, buttons, and articles of small comparative value. This trade will probably be found susceptible of considerable increase, both in the quantity and variety of the products, when a more unreserved intercourse takes place between the traders and the natives. It was formerly restricted by law to an annual fair at Fort Willshire, from a laudable desire to afford protection to those employed in the trade; and though this is now extended to a market twice a week at the same place, yet the thirst of gain causes a continued violation of the rules laid down by government, and neither the preventive service of the troops on the border, nor the dread of ill treatment from the natives, deter some adventurers from entering the forbidden country in the prosecution of so profitable a trade. Limited as the intercourse is, it must still, ere long, have some effect in civilizing these tribes; and they have already property of sufficient value in their herds of cattle, added to the products I have mentioned, and to others that may yet be discovered amongst them, to give an equivalent for such articles as new wants may render desirable to them.

The cheapness of the cattle purchased from such neighbours as these, as well as the increase of their own flocks and herds in a country so well adapted to pasture, may prove to the inhabitants of Albany the source of a lucrative trade in the curing of salt provisions, which has been begun with some prospect of success, both with respect to its cheapness and good quality. I can speak of this from experience, having supplied some homeward-bound

Indiamen with beef cured at Mr. Nourse's establishment, at the Kowie, which was so well approved that the commanders regretted that they had not taken more of it. The appearance was not so prepossessing as that of Irish beef, but its quality was equally good. The country possesses every natural advantage for this trade, and I have no doubt of seeing it become an important article, not only for supplies to the shipping in the India trade, but also as an export to foreign countries. Not only salted provisions, but salt itself may become a considerable article of trade, whenever labour can be applied to the numerous salt-pans along the coast. The salt lakes of the interior are too far distant from the sea to furnish the article for export.

Timber is sufficiently abundant in the forests of the Knysna and Plettenberg's Bay to supply the wants of the Colony; but neither is its quality sufficiently good, nor the price of the labour employed in procuring it low enough, to render it an article of export; and indeed, until capital be found for the erection of saw-mills on the Knysna, deals from Europe will even still be imported with advantage, the charges of freight, &c. being more than counterbalanced by the expense of labour required to reduce the produce of the forests into this shape.

With the exception of these districts, however, the Colony is any thing but well wooded; and on the sea-coast, particularly, great advantage might, I think, be derived from plantations of the pine, which have been so useful in Portugal. The bark of the mimosa is well adapted for the use of the tanner, and may one day become an article of export from Albany and Cafferland, as well as from the districts beyond the north-west boundaries of the Colony.

The improved breed of Cape horses, for which the Colony is without doubt greatly indebted to the patronage of his Excellency the present Governor, has proved so considerable a source of profit to the farmers, as to have induced them to take great pains in the breeding of horses, and they now furnish a considerable article of export,—the finest to India, sometimes

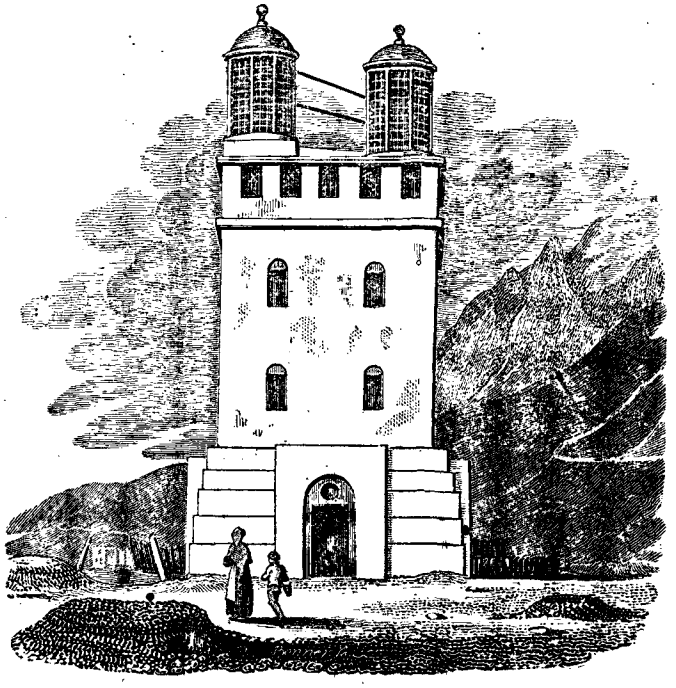
bringing prices of two to three hundred guineas, and the less valuable ones to the Isle of France, (to which twenty or thirty are occasionally exported in one vessel,) from 15*l.* to 50*l.*;—nor is this a branch of trade at all likely to decline, the number of valuable horses continually increasing.

The Mauritius and St. Helena are certain and increasing markets for almost every species of the agricultural produce of the Cape, and to her they must continue indebted for those useful supplies of corn, wine and oil, sheep and cattle, butter, soap, forage, and fruits, which the barrenness and limited extent of the one, and the sugar cultivation of the other, preclude them from furnishing themselves. The sugar and coffee of the Brazils are occasionally exchanged for the corn and wine of the Colony:—of the latter some cargoes have also been advantageously disposed of in Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales; and, notwithstanding the efforts to produce wine in the latter Colony, I think the Cape will be able for a long while hence to supply it at a cheaper rate than it can be grown there.

G. Thompson. Esq.r del.t

TABLE BAY IN A GALE.

London. Pub.d by H. Colburn. Jan.y 1827.



CHAPTER VII.

INLAND CARRIAGE. — PROPOSED INTRODUCTION OF CAMELS. — OTHER IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED. — TABLE BAY. — NOTICES OF OTHER BAYS AND HARBOURS ON THE WEST AND SOUTH COASTS. — CONCLUDING REMARKS.

HAVING shown what the Colony is capable of producing, I will next consider the alleged difficulty of conveying this produce to a distant market. And first it is to be remarked, that, with the exception of what may be called the pastoral country, no part of the Colony extends to a much greater distance than one hundred and fifty miles from the coast,—the sea-beach forming, as it were, the outer edge of a broad semicircular belt, extending nearly a thousand miles round the Colony, which, by this means, enjoys in some measure the advantages of an insular situation. Land-carriage across this country, which would be

so formidable an obstacle in many parts of the world, is here, from the general excellence of the roads, and the ease with which fodder is obtained for the draught cattle, by no means so expensive as to form any serious charge upon the produce brought to market, notwithstanding that it requires from twenty to thirty oxen, divided into two teams or spans, for a weight of two thousand pounds. In one of those long journeys, a boor travels with his whole family and caravan, at a very small expense, taking dried meat with him; and the cattle are grazed on the outspann places set apart for public use. It has often been a subject of discussion, whether it would not be better to use the draught cattle as pack-oxen, after the manner of the Aborigines, instead of employing waggons,—and I think it would certainly be cheaper. But the waggon is so congenial to the habits of the Dutch boor, that it must be some strong inducement indeed, that would cause him to adopt any other mode of carriage than this, which is, as it were, a travelling house to him.

It is much to be regretted that that useful animal the camel has never been introduced into Southern Africa. Although the roads are not in every quarter so well calculated for its feet as the sands of Arabia, yet in many parts, particularly in the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, they are equally so, and I presume he might cross the Karroos without difficulty. Albany, Caffer-land, and the Bechuana country might be traversed with ease,—these countries being of a soft nature generally; and indeed I am not aware that he is incapable of standing even a much harder road than most parts of the Colony. In the neighbourhood of Muscat and Arabia Petræa, camels are employed constantly in traversing rough and stony regions. If we look at the small quantity of nourishment required by the camel, and the heavy load he carries, it is at once obvious what an advantage his introduction into South Africa would prove. On good authority, I understand his usual burthen is about 750 lbs. His food is every thing almost you choose to give him; straw, brambles, pounded

dates, beans, barley, &c. With a single pound of food, and as much water, in a day, he will travel for weeks together. And I cannot but join in the wish expressed by the Editor of the "State of the Cape in 1822," whose notes form so valuable a part of that work, that Government would undertake the introduction of this animal, as the first cost is too great, and the profit to be obtained too remote, to incline private individuals to engage in a speculation of this nature.

Canals and rail-roads are entirely out of the question; but few countries possess such excellent natural roads, as I have already observed, and with the exception of a few mountain passes and deep rivers, the Colony can be traversed with the greatest ease from one end to the other. All that can be done at present is to subdue, as far as is practicable, the natural difficulties. Government have lately done much in this way, and the Franschehoek Pass will stand as a monument of fame of the planners of the excellent road over it. The next object worthy of a similar attention is the Hottentots' Holland Kloof, which might, at a third of the expense, be rendered easy to cross, to the incalculable advantage of the districts of Swellendam and George, particularly if the Howhoek pass is also improved.

It is more difficult to render the rivers passable than the mountains. At one season of the year, when the rains set in, and when the dry beds of summer are filled with furious currents that carry all before them, waggons have been known to lie six weeks before one of these winter torrents. *Ponts*, or floating bridges, are used with great success on the Berg and Breede Rivers, and might in a few other instances. Perhaps the ingenious rope-bridge of Mr. Shakespeare might answer in some places here, as well as over the torrents of India. At any rate, some contrivance ought to be resorted to for the conveyance of the mails, which is becoming daily of more vital importance to the Colony.

I shall now endeavour to point out the various places of embarkation to

which produce may be brought for transport by sea; and at the same time notice such improvements as they are susceptible of, either as inlets for the coasting trade, or as harbours on a large scale. Bad as is the reputation of South African rivers, I apprehend that many of them may yet be rendered available for commerce, whenever the increasing wealth and population of the Colony shall render it practicable to bestow some expense upon their improvement; and in this light they have been viewed by many eminent nautical men on this station.

The plan suggested by the late Commodore Nourse, for clearing the bar of the Kowie, is applicable to many other rivers on the east coast;* and the state

* Extract from a Report by Commodore Nourse to His Excellency the Governor, dated at the Kowie, Oct. 17, 1823.

"From the bar, the course of the channel is tortuous for some distance, until it falls into the smoother uninterrupted course of the river, up which I proceeded seven miles; and there can scarcely be less than four fathoms so far as sixteen miles up, without a bank or rock to intercept the progress. Both sides are thickly wooded close to the water's edge.

"To remove the obstacles, in some measure, at the entrance, and the winding, and consequent lodgement and shifting of sand, I think it would be worth the experiment to make the course straight from the bar to the straighter and deeper part of the river, that the tide might have a straight influx and reflux; which, with the freshets occasionally, and the receding tide, would carry all the loose sand into the sea, which is now lodged near its mouth.

"The flood tide would certainly bring a quantity of that matter in again; but instead of being deposited, as it is now, just within its entrance, it would be carried higher up and be dispersed over the deeper parts of the river. The straight course given within its entrance, would confine the passage over the bar to one particular spot, and consequently deepen it, whereas it is now constantly shifting several points.

"Should this be found to answer, I would propose such a vessel, worked by steam, as is used generally in harbours in our seaports, to prevent them from filling up,—which is found to be often the case. This vessel would be employed when the bar is perfectly smooth, (which I am informed is sometimes the case for several days together,) in deepening and widening the bar: and, at such times as the surf on the bar may prevent working upon it, the vessel could be employed within, in clearing and deepening the channel to the deeper part of the river.

"There would be little more than the first expense of such a vessel, as the woods which come down all the way up the river to the water side, would furnish fuel enough for all purposes for centuries to come. The vessel might be built on the banks, at the mouth of the river, and the machinery sent from England.

of the two harbours, Saldanha Bay on the west, and the Knysna on the east coast, whose bold bluff cliffs, and narrow entrances, present the same natural obstacles to the accumulation of sand at their mouths as are proposed to be artificially erected at the Kowie, is a tolerably strong proof of the good effects that would result from the adoption of some such plan.

I am strengthened in my opinions on this head, by my friend Captain Owen, commanding the squadron recently employed on the extensive survey of the African coast, who has pointed out to me that similar inconveniences in some of the harbours on the coast of Portugal have been obviated by similar methods.*

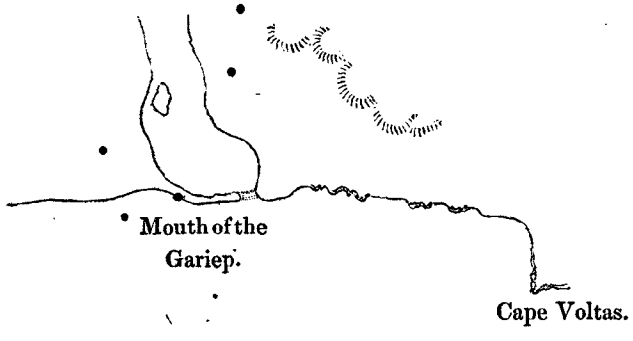
At the seasons when a river of the west coast has dwindled into insignificance, the sea, from the prevalence of the north-west monsoon, throws up a continual accumulation of sand, which it is no longer able to wash out, and a bar thus becomes formed at its entrance, leaving only a narrow channel for the diminished stream to pass through. At the period when the north-west monsoon has ceased to blow, the river, swelled into a torrent, bursts through the barrier, which it again washes into the sea, leaving the entrance clear till a repetition of the same causes produces the same effects. From this circum-

" Regarding the labour for making a straight course from the bar to the deeper part of the river, perhaps not more than forty roods of sand would have to be cut through, and some stakes laid down, with an embankment which the sand would soon form against it, to keep the river in a straight line to the necessary distance. This labour, it appears to me, were it necessary, might be had at little or no expense. I will suppose so many convicts on their way to Botany Bay, as might be thought necessary, landed at Kowie, where they could be hutted and fed at a trifling expense, until the work were finished, when they might be again embarked, and proceed to their ultimate destination."

To the landing of convicts in the Cape Colony, under any circumstances, there are most serious objections ; but it is unnecessary to urge them, since the same object might be attained by sending out emigrant labourers at the public expense, on condition of their services being mortgaged to Government for a certain period on this or similar public works.

* Vide " Description of the Coasts of Portugal; translated from the Portuguese, by Capt. W. F. W. Owen, R.N."—London, 1814.

stance may arise the discrepancy of accounts as to the entrances of unfrequented rivers when surveyed at different seasons. As an instance of this, my friend Captain Vidal, of His Majesty's Ship Barracouta, expressed to me his disappointment at finding the mouths of the Nourse and Somerset Rivers, north of the Gariep, completely choked with sand banks, though Capt. Chapman, of the Espiègle, had entered both of them at a different season of the year. Were a barrier raised sufficiently strong to resist the weight of the winter floods, and confining the outlet of the water to such a space as the summer stream could keep clear of sand, the entrance would always be navigable. The annexed sketch of the mouth of the Gariep, or Orange River, taken during the recent survey, will answer as a general description of this kind of river. It may, however, be remarked, that the Gariep being encumbered at its entrance with rocks, (as seen by the Espiègle at a different season,) and, moreover, on too large a scale to attempt any plan for narrowing its channel, is totally prevented from ever becoming navigable.



Those connected with the interests of Kamiesberg, the extreme point of civilization of the Colony to the north, have long wished for a harbour, from which they might send their surplus produce to the Cape, and have at last, as I am informed, succeeded in finding a bay that is likely to answer the purpose, viz.,—at the mouth of what is laid down in the map as Zwartlintjes

River, opposite to the Kamiesberg. An enterprising individual connected with the coasting trade on the west coast of the Colony has it in contemplation to try the experiment immediately.

From the Zwartlintjes River to the Oliphant's River, nothing like a bay or harbour presents itself, and the mouth of this fine river precludes all entrance, owing to two bars of sand thrown across it, allowing only small boats to enter. Immediately over the bar the river is deep, and continues so for nearly twenty miles. It is much to be regretted that it is not navigable. However, a place a little more to the southward, called Lambert's Bay after the admiral of that name, has become serviceable for the village of Clan-William, and a small vessel trades between this spot and Table Bay.

The next harbour that presents itself is St. Helena Bay,—a very large and commodious one, and, as already mentioned, possessing safe anchorage in one part of it. It is, however, greatly exposed to the north-west gales. The Berg River falls into the bay, but its mouth is blocked up by a bar of sand. Saldanha Bay having already been alluded to, it is unnecessary to repeat that it is one of the best bays, when once entered, on the African coast, but nearly destitute of fresh water. Much has been said about bringing the Berg River into this bay ; but I fear, if practicable, this is not a work for the present generation. Saldanha Bay being situated so far to leeward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the south-east monsoon, renders it far from being that desirable naval station so much recommended by some writers.

We now come to Table Bay, the grand rendezvous of the colonial vessels and traders, and the resort of Indiamen for refreshment to and from India. This bay has long been the subject of discussion ; and in general its safety as a harbour has been much undervalued, although occasionally during the months of June, July, and August, it is exposed to the north-west monsoon. Much has been said on the feasibility of a mole or breakwater ; but if this could be accomplished, I have my doubts whether it would answer or not. A

breakwater, even on as extensive a scale as that at Plymouth, would scarcely stand the sea that would occasionally roll against it; and during the south-east gales I fear more wrecks would be caused by ships driving upon it, than would be saved by its protection in the north-west monsoon. It is also doubtful whether the bay would not fill up with sand and mud, which is now kept clear by the current that sets into the bay on the south side of Robben Island, and runs out at the north side.*

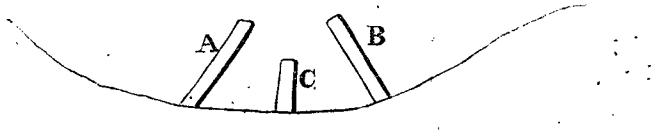
An ingenious plan has been suggested by Captain Knox, of the merchant service, for the formation of a large basin, capable of containing a considerable fleet, both of merchantmen and men-of-war. I see no objection to the plan, except the expense, which I fear would both be greater than the projector of it anticipates, or than the Government would undertake without reference to its utility to His Majesty's Navy. Simon's Bay, too, is on so many accounts preferred, as a naval station, that I fear merchant shipping must still trust to good anchors and hempen or coir cables for riding out the gales; and if they are as well found in these as they ought to be, there is by no means the danger which the frequent losses (occasioned in some instances by carelessness, and in others by ignorance,) would lead us to suppose. I should be sorry to insinuate that many cases, and those very distressing ones, have not occurred, where not the slightest blame would attach to the unfortunate sufferers; but I cannot help thinking that there is some truth in the remark which a naval friend made to me, that if captains were sole owners, and their ships uninsured, it would materially contribute to the safety of Table Bay.

The present commodore on the station (H. M. Christian Esq.), anxious to add to the safety of Table Bay, has proposed tiers of moorings for vessels of

* This current is well known by all nautical men to set from the east round the Cape into the Atlantic. However, a recent circumstance caused much doubt upon the subject, viz. after the wreck of the Perseverance on the Whale Rock, near Robben Island, a cask of wine, part of her cargo, was found in Simon's Bay, having weathered the point. This appeared to me a mystery, until Captain Owen gave me to understand that an eddy current sets round the Cape, to the east, close to the shore.

all sizes, which I have little doubt would answer nineteen seasons out of twenty, and the expense would be small in comparison with any other plan. Plenty of anchors must be lying at the different depots in England, and the commodore, with his squadron on the station, would be at the trouble of laying them down.

For the accommodation of the trade of the place, something might certainly be done in the way of erecting a substitute for our frail jetty, that totters upon little more than one-third of its original supports. If the expense is to be considered, funds might easily be raised in shares, secured by a wharfage until the amount is redeemed. The vicinity of Rogge Bay, near the Post-office and Custom-house, appears naturally adapted for the site of a new landing-place, and much more convenient to the town, than where the present wooden jetty stands. Another great advantage in its being placed there would be in the opportunity afforded to boats to go off to the assistance of ships in distress, either in a north-west or south-east gale, whereas it is quite impracticable to leave the present jetty with a north-west wind, a time when it is often most required to carry off an anchor or cable. The new jetty, or pier, I should propose to be built of stone, which could easily be procured on the spot. The situation to which I allude presents some great natural aids in forming it, as follows: To the right and left, chains of rocks, A and B, run out some distance, as shown in the annexed sketch, on which ought



to be constructed piers sufficiently substantial to protect the jetty C from the north-west and south-east winds, which would form a wharf for landing goods, &c. The head of the pier C being in tolerably deep water, some of the smaller coasters, in fair weather, might be brought even up to the wharf and discharged: and the basin would form an excellent protection to the small

craft and boats, now so much injured in bad weather. The lighthouse (of which an engraving is prefixed to this Chapter) has been alluded to already, at the entrance to Table Bay, and Captain Owen's directions, recently published, will be a sufficient guide for entering the bay.*

* Considerable discussion has existed among scientific men, as to the fact, whether the ocean has been gaining upon the land, or the land upon the ocean, in this part of the globe. Mr. Barrow argues strongly against the latter hypothesis, and offers some cogent arguments in support of the former. Other writers have adopted different theories. I pretend not to hazard any decided opinion on a subject involved in such difficulties; but the following facts may be not unworthy, perhaps, of being noticed.

1st. Some small islands in Simon's Bay, more particularly Duyker Island, which, in the memory of many of the inhabitants, were once detached from the continent, are now connected by low isthmuses.

2d. On the skirts of the Downs, or Flats, which form an isthmus between the Cape peninsula and the rest of the continent, there was discovered a few years ago, at a considerable distance from the sea, what seemed to be the timbers of a vessel deeply imbedded in the sand. This I had myself a cursory view of, but there was too little of the wood visible to enable me to form any clear judgment of its shape, or probable purpose. I found, however, some metallic substance fixed in the wood in a very corroded state. A nautical gentleman who examined it with more care than I had an opportunity of bestowing, thinks that the wood (which has apparently been buried for ages in the sand) greatly resembles cedar,—and conceives it *possible* that this may be the remains of some ancient Phœnician vessel, wrecked here when our present Cape flats were under water,—forming, perhaps, a shallow strait between Wynberg and the Koeberg. This is certainly a rather wild-looking hypothesis,—yet, that the land in the southern extremity of Africa *might* be elevated from the sea without necessarily affecting (as Mr. Barrow supposes) the level of the northern extremity, is evident from the effects produced by recent earthquakes in Chile, in elevating the whole extent of coast for some hundred miles. Is it not, also, possible to account for the formation of a low sandy isthmus like the Cape Downs, from the agency of tides and winds alone collecting a mass of sand in a shallow strait? The formation of the immense sand hills along the southern coast, and on the shores of Table Bay itself, indicate pretty clearly how such an operation would proceed, if once commenced.

Whatever may be in this, Captain Owen seems to have obtained strong evidence of the commerce of the Phœnicians having extended from the Red Sea, much farther down the eastern coasts of Africa than is generally imagined; and to have pretty clearly ascertained that the celebrated gold mines of ancient *Ophir* were situated in the vicinity of Inhamban,—where it is remarkable that a place of the name of *Ophir*, still rich in gold and ivory, exists at the present day. It seems, therefore, not altogether incredible, that the Phœnician mariners may have actually doubled the Cape of Good Hope from the Indian Ocean.

After leaving Table Bay, the only safe harbour between it and the real Cape of Good Hope, is Hout's Bay, perfectly safe when once in, and only slightly affected by the south-east winds: there is one danger near the entrance, a rock laid down in all charts. It is too near Table Bay ever to be a place of any importance in the way of trade.

On rounding the Cape of Good Hope,* you enter the wide and extensive False Bay; so called from ships having often been deceived in coming from the eastward. After rounding Hanglip, in darkish weather, imagining that they had passed the real Cape of Good Hope, they stand to the north, when in a short time they find themselves on the Muizenberg beach, at the bottom of False Bay.

Of Simon's Bay and False Bay, the ample information contained in the works of Mr. Barrow, and our "Civil Servant," render any farther details altogether superfluous. The dangers too in entering the bays are laid down in all charts,—the Whittle-rock and Seal-island in False Bay, and the Roman Rock, and Noah's Ark, on entering Simon's Bay: on the latter, a lighthouse would be very desirable. Of the present state and population of Simon's Town, the work last mentioned affords a very full and accurate account.

From False Bay to the Breede River, no harbour of any kind exists. The mouth of this river, now called Port Beaufort, allows vessels of 200 tons

* On one of my visits to Simon's Town, I made an excursion to this extremity of the Cape promontory,—the real "Cabo Tormentoso,"—in company with some officers of His Majesty's Ships, Owen Glendower, and Martin. The road lay across a rugged chain of rocky hills, composed of the same materials as a great part of the mountains in this part of the Colony,—sandstone and granite. The appearance of this southern abutment of the African continent is bold, bleak, and desolate. In an immense cavern at the bottom of the cliffs, washed occasionally by the billows of the great southern ocean, we found a piece of wreck, consisting of a ship's windlass, &c.,—a melancholy memorial of some one of the many disasters which have happened on this stormy coast since the adventurous Vasco de Gama doubled the promontory four hundred years ago. This cavern seemed to be the resort of innumerable flocks of sea fowl, but contained nothing else remarkable.

to enter, and discharge and load in safety, and has become a regular place of export for the produce of Swellendam. Corn and stock are occasionally exported direct from it to St. Helena; but this only by special permission, as it has not yet, like Algoa Bay and Port Frances, become a regular port under the Custom-house regulations.

Not far to the east of Port Beaufort is Mossel Bay, very similar in many respects to Algoa Bay, being safe from all winds but the south-east. The landing is good, and a large granary or storehouse is erected at this spot, for the reception of corn for exportation to Cape Town.

The Knysna harbour is well known. The entrance is so narrow, and the rocks so precipitous, that the influx and reflux of the tide keep it clear of sand to the depth of eighteen feet at ebb tide, in the bar. When inside, a finer harbour cannot be desired, as it is perfectly safe from all winds. An interesting chart of this harbour is to be found in Mr. Barrow's work. Its chief export is timber; but there is abundance of land capable of producing corn, so that in time it cannot fail to increase in importance.

Plettenberg's Bay affords good anchorage, and from thence also timber is shipped. Like Algoa Bay, it is exposed to the south-east winds.

The next harbour or inlet we meet with, is the Kromme River and Bay,—the river admitting vessels of 200 tons, and the bay possessing good anchorage for large ships. This place has not hitherto been much visited, and its advantages are little known, but it may become of first-rate importance ere long, if, in addition to the abundance of timber in its neighbourhood, in the Zitzikamma, and the produce raised by the wealthy boors in the Lange-Kloof and the parts adjacent, it be true that coal is to be found on its banks.

Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, is the next harbour. As a mercantile port, it has become next in importance to Table Bay, and will prove the principal port of the eastern division of the Colony. The Zwartkops river, which flows past Uitenhage, falls into Algoa Bay, and vessels of nearly 200 tons

have entered it, but its mouth is occasionally obstructed with a bar of sand. It is however capable of great improvement, and would at no very enormous expense become navigable for steam-vessels nearly to the Drostdy, whose rising importance I have already noticed. Chimerical as this may seem to those who have long considered inland navigation as entirely out of the question, I yet hope to live to see it carried into execution.

Though Algoa Bay has hitherto been considered as the port of the new settlement, its distance from the frontier renders it less eligible than Port Frances at the Kowie River mouth, which is the next port to the eastward, and which river flows through the heart of the district of Albany. Of the practicability of clearing the bar I have already spoken; and as Government has laid down moorings off its mouth, and made it a Custom-house port, it is to be hoped they will take an early opportunity of completing a work so essential to the prosperity of that part of the Colony. This is the last harbour on the eastern coast of the Colony.

The Great Fish River is said to have been entered by a boat, under the superintendence of Mr. Bailey, a gentleman in that vicinity; but the bar is constantly shifting, and the offing is much more exposed than the Kowie mouth. Beyond this I am not personally acquainted with the coast; but the whole of it having been recently surveyed by Captain Owen, R. N., a much more valuable account will doubtless come before the public from him than any slight sketch I could pretend to give.

Whatever may be the diversity of opinions entertained as to the capabilities of the Cape for becoming a place of commercial importance, it will at least vindicate the judgment of its first founders, by continuing to be the great half-way house to India. The cheapness and abundance of provisions; the security of its bays, if resorted to at the proper seasons; the profits of bringing hither, and carrying back the numerous valetudinarians, who, no longer able to conceal from themselves the effects of the burning sun of

India, seek for restoration to health in our milder climate; and the chances of a market which often affords a sale for Indian produce, profitable enough to pay, at least, their expenses,—will always prove sufficient temptations to the commanders of Indiamen to touch here, in spite of the ill-founded objections against it as a port. The ships of the East India Company indeed, with the exceptions of two annual ships from China, are instructed to avoid the Cape, and resort to their own settlement of St. Helena. But their example in peace, and even their influence, should another war break out, is becoming of less importance, and our fleets of free traders would hardly be compelled, for the convenience of the Company, to relinquish the advantages of the Cape for the expensive rendezvous of St. Helena. A few years more will probably give to the private traders of Great Britain the same superiority in the trade to China, which they already enjoy in that to India; for it can hardly be supposed that Government will renew the exclusive privileges of the East India Company; and painful as it is to contemplate the decay and gradual extinction of the finest class of merchant ships which ever graced the commercial annals of the world, whether we look to their mere mechanical excellence, or to the high character of the officers brought up in the East India Company's service,—yet, without such exclusive privileges, the trade of China must gradually be transferred into the less splendid, though more extensive channels of individual enterprise.

The increasing trade between Great Britain and her Australian possessions, renders the Cape also important as a place of refreshment to the ships bound to that quarter; and not a few are now beginning to avail themselves of its advantages in this respect, and of the chances of a middle freight, which the increasing intercourse between the two colonies gives them an occasional opportunity of obtaining.

If the commercial advantages of the Cape be but little tempting to the adventurer for wealth, it is some consolation that no great sacrifice of health

is required for its attainment; and I think this circumstance contributes in some degree to place the state of society on a better footing in this Colony, than it is represented to be in many others. He who stakes his life against a speedy return to his country with "a fortune," which he expects will give him importance there, in the eyes of those who will not trouble themselves to inquire how it was accumulated, if he be not careless as to the means he uses to obtain this end, is at least too often but little solicitous for the future advantages of a society which he intends quitting as soon as his purse is made up; and to this cause may be attributed much of the selfishness and irregularity of principle which are objected against colonists in general. The young and eager votaries of Mammon are continually pouring in, while those whom a more advanced age, and more affluent circumstances, ought to render the ornament and the defence of the country to which they owe their wealth, leave it,—too happy if they escape with a constitution only half ruined, to return to that which they have never ceased to consider as their "home."

The contrary to all this happens at the Cape, where there is no field for making a rapid fortune, though abundance of room for the profitable exertion of persevering industry; and when a man feels that he is destined at least to a long residence, if not to pass the remainder of his days, and perhaps to bring up his family in a country, he becomes naturally anxious, not only to uphold his own character by the sacrifice of a thousand little selfish feelings to the general good, but is interested in every improvement of the place and its inhabitants. It becomes, in fact, his country, and when his wealth and leisure increase, he feels little inclination to quit a spot where his conduct has raised him to a rank and consideration comparatively far greater than he could hope to attain in any other situation. Instead, therefore, of sending back to Europe her adventurers rich in purse and poor in constitution, the Cape has a fair chance of retaining within itself the property, experience, and

kindly feelings of her inhabitants, and of gradually advancing in intellectual improvement.

Few ranks in society would gain much increase in happiness by a removal from the Cape, if a salubrious climate, and an easy acquisition of all the necessaries, and many of the conveniencies and luxuries of life may be supposed to promote this end; and in respect to society, this Colony is fortunate above most others in possessing a variety suited to all classes. The gentleman, whether sportsman, scholar, or man of pleasure, may here pass his time with congenial associates. Though it would be absurd to compare the society of Cape Town with that of an European metropolis for extent and variety, it is not too much to state, that there are few men either of rank or talent so exalted as not to find there appropriate companions in the principal official persons of the Colony, (many of them relations and connexions of families of rank in England,) and in the officers of His Majesty's military and naval services, and the visitors from India, who form, in every point of view, so valuable an addition to the population of the Colony.

Of female society I do not profess to be a critic, and my testimony to its merits would be of small value indeed. In any points, however, where it falls short of perfection, the fault cannot be attributed to a want of the brightest example in the highest and most influential quarter; and they must have little experience in the world, who do not know how to estimate this benefit at its full worth.

The working bees of the hive, whether merchants, agriculturists, tradesmen, or mechanics, much less pressed by the severity or duration of their labours, than those of the same classes in England, pass their leisure hours either in their family circle, or in company adapted to their respective habits,—not the less happily perhaps that it becomes less refined in proportion to their gradual descent in the scale of society.

If it be objected that I have spoken in too sanguine terms of the prospects of Southern Africa, I can only reply, that I should be ashamed if I could speak coldly on such a subject. *There* I have passed in happiness the first years of my active life, and laid up experience sufficient, I trust, to guide my steps hereafter. There I have encountered some dangers, and there experienced the forbearance, hospitality, and protection of all classes of people, from the wandering savage of the desert, to the highest ranks of civilized society. I have met with but little unkindness even from those quarters where commercial rivalry may be supposed not to engender the best feelings. I judge of the future by the past; and many must be the storms I encounter in my farther voyage through life, before I shall cease to esteem the place of my residence in the fullest sense of the word, as the Cape of "GOOD HOPE."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ACCOUNT OF THE AMAKOSÆ, OR SOUTHERN CAFFERS.*

History.—Government.—Crimes and Punishments.—Sorcery.—Religion and Superstitions.—Circumcision.—Marriage.—Medicine and Surgery.—Funeral Rites.—Dress.—Ornaments.—Agriculture.—Hunting.—Language.—Description of the Country.—Journey through the Amakosa territory.—Interview with Hinza, the principal Chief.

History.—The national appellation of the Southern Caffers is *Amakosa*, the singular of which is *Kosa*. Their country is sometimes called *Amakosina*.

According to the traditionary accounts which I have collected from their old people, this tribe first settled on the Great Kei River under their chief, Toguh; but whether they were a colony from the *Tambookie* or *Amatymba* tribe, or from some of the nations farther to the north-east, I have not been able to ascertain. The period of their emigration, as nearly as can be collected from the existing traditions, appears to have been about 150 years ago, or somewhat more.

The sons of Toguh were Gondè, Tindè, and Keitshè. Gondè succeeded his father as principal chief; and the other two brothers removed from the Kei, and settled on the coast,

* This account has been extracted from the manuscript notes of the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, who has resided as a missionary among the Caffers for seven or eight years. It was written by Mr. B. (without any knowledge of Lichtenstein's work), entirely from his own observations, and information obtained from the natives. It will be found to corroborate Lichtenstein's statements on many points, and to differ from them in others—especially in the historical details, which in Mr. Brownlee's summary are much less favourable to Gaika. But the missionary, living in habits of daily intercourse with the natives, and speaking their language, may be supposed qualified to give a more accurate representation of such matters than the hasty traveller. In the present sketch, several topics already sufficiently well known, from former writers, have been omitted or curtailed.

between the Kalumna* and Buffalo Rivers. At that period the Gonaqua Hottentots had their chief kraals on the coast; but likewise inhabited the country along the Buffalo River, and up to the very sources of the Keiskamma.

On the death of Gondè, he was succeeded as chief, over part of the tribe, by his son Tshio; but the younger brother, Mandanka, had been declared by his father independent of Tshio, and a number of the people removed under the guidance of this young chief to the country situated between the Chumi and Kat Rivers, and afterwards occupied also the banks of the Kounap, and the country on the Great Fish River opposite to Somerset.

Tshio had scarcely succeeded to the government, when he sent out his forces to attack the clan of Keitshè, and defeated them near the mouth of the Kalumna river; and after this, (which happened about ninety-seven, or one hundred years ago), the whole of Keitshè's horde removed to the northward, and have never since been heard of. The warrior who had the chief command in the expulsion of Keitshè, was created a chief by Tshio, and from him are descended the Congo family, since so well known on the frontier.

Shortly after this period the Gonaqua Hottentots, who were governed by a chief named Kohla, had established their kraals between the Fish and Bushman Rivers; and the Caffers of the Kucha and the Tindè clans, being pressed for room, purchased from Kohla the territory along the coast, from the Fish to the Sunday River, including the tract of country now occupied by the British settlers. The price was a large number of cattle. After this amicable arrangement, the Caffers began to occupy the Zuurveld, and the Gonaquas retired northward to the Zuurberg and Bruintjes-hoogte.

The Dutch colonists began, ere long, to extend their settlements to Bruintjes-hoogte. The Hottentots having been subdued or driven back before them, (and the females and children made prisoners and reduced to servitude), no energetic resistance had hitherto been opposed to their progress; but when they met with the Caffers at the Fish River, they found them a much more formidable obstacle to their acquiring entire possession of the country. For some time, however, they seem to have avoided any direct acts of oppression, or other measures that might provoke their hostility. The Christian and the Caffer occupied the country together, and lived in amity, until, as the Caffers relate, the following barbarous act of perfidy was perpetrated by the Colonists.

About fifty-six years ago the boors of Bruintjes-hoogte invited the Mandankæ clan of Caffers, of whom Jalumba was then chief, to meet them on the western bank of the Great Fish River, for the purpose of holding a consultation on some public matters. The Mandankæ attended the meeting, where a palaver was held, and they were entertained with tobacco. After which the boors said they had brought a costly present for their good friends the Caffers; and having spread some rush mats on the ground, they covered them with beads, and invited their visitors to make a scramble, and display their activity in picking them up, upon a signal to be given. The boors then retired a little distance to where their guns were lying ready loaded with two or three bullets each. The signal was given by the Veld-Cornet Botman.

* Kalumna is the Caffer pronunciation of *Krumna*, the original Hottentot name.

The Caffers rushed upon the beads, overturning each other in their eagerness. The boors at the same instant seized their guns and poured in a volley upon their unsuspecting visitors; and so destructive was their murderous aim, that very few, it is said, escaped the massacre! The residue of the Mandankæ immediately abandoned the banks of the Fish River, and sought refuge in the Zuurveld with the Chief Congo, and their countrymen of the Tindè tribe.

But to return to the royal family. On the death of Tshio, his two sons, Galeka* and Palo,† ruled in amicable conjunction. On the decease of the latter, there was a regular division of the Amakosa nation, by mutual consent; and Kachabè, the son of Palo, migrated from the Great Kei River with all his followers, and settled near the sources of the Keiskamma and Chumi.

Kachabè, after establishing himself in this part of the country, married his eldest daughter to a chief of the Tambookies (Amatymbæ); but not being satisfied with the cattle that were given by the bridegroom, he sent his eldest son Umlào to demand a farther contribution. The young chief, however, died in the Tambookie country; and whether there was any suspicion of treachery, or that his father only wanted a pretence for his violence, Kachabè immediately afterwards attacked the Tambookies, pretending that they had employed sorcery against him. After a great deal of fighting, Kachabè succeeded in bringing off his daughter, and ravaged the Tambookie country to such a degree, that part of it lay desolate for many years afterwards; but this turbulent chieftain was ultimately overthrown and slain in one of his marauding expeditions.

On the death of Kachabè, his second son S'Lhambi‡ succeeded him as regent of the tribe,—Gaika, the son of Umlào, the lineal heir, being yet a minor. S'Lhambi, the better to secure his own authority, placed his sister Ishusa over those kraals that had been under the sway of his deceased brother Umlào.

The only thing worthy of notice that occurred during Gaika's minority, was an attack on the clan of Congo, at the instigation of the Dutch colonists. Congo was assailed on one side by S'Lhambi, and on the other by the boors at the same time; yet, though many of his followers were destroyed, he kept his ground in spite of his enemies. At this time Gaika was a very young man; and was carried by S'Lhambi on the expedition, to train him to hardihood and heroism.

It was at this period that the Caffers first began to carry on extensive depredations against the colonists; and, as was to be expected, the Mandankæ race, who had now become a broken clan, and were dispersed among the other tribes, were the most inveterate in pursuing a system of hostility to their colonial antagonists.

* The *Tgareka* of Lichtenstein.

† *Palo* was generally known among the colonial boors during his time by the name of *Pharaoh*, and some of them fancied that he was a lineal descendant of the Egyptian monarchs.

‡ This name is usually but erroneously written *Sambie* or *T'Sambeh*. The real pronunciation of the initial sound is like that of the Welsh *Ll*.

Gaika began, at length, to dread and to oppose the influence of his uncle in the nation; and what he could not effect by force, he did by artifice. The first of his warlike exploits was to plunder some kraals belonging to S'Lhambi's adherents. This successful foray was achieved by the aid of a number of young men about his own age. On a remonstrance being made to S'Lhambi, he interfered, and made the cattle be given up. But, it seems, this act of audacity gained Gaika no small admiration, particularly among the young warriors of his tribe.

The next step he took was still more decided. He ordered his followers to seize and carry off a number of S'Lhambi's own cattle; and when his uncle's adherents followed, he attacked and drove them back with disgrace. Upon this S'Lhambi came to Gaika in a peaceable manner, and remonstrated against his violent conduct: but such an adept was the juvenile chief already in dissimulation, that he pretended to be entirely ignorant of the transaction, and thus contrived to pacify his uncle, who returned to his own kraal at the Debè River. But he had scarcely arrived there, when Gaika collected all his followers, and surprised S'Lhambi, drove him from his kraal, and forced him to take shelter in the territory of his cousin Bucho. The fugitive chief was supported by Bucho, and a great force was collected to attack Gaika. But the latter was on the alert; and falling suddenly upon them, routed their forces, and took S'Lhambi and Hinza prisoners. The latter, being only a boy, he discharged, but kept his uncle a prisoner at large.

Shortly after this, numbers of the smaller clans removed from the Caffer territory, and joined Congo. Several bands also marched to the northward towards the Great Orange River; and considerable numbers advanced westward into the Zuurveld, and the country towards the Zwartkops River.

S'Lhambi, after having remained for some time a prisoner, was permitted by Gaika to leave his kraal, and settled in the Zuurveld.

At this time numbers of the Caffers were dispersed among the boors, within the Colony, and lived peaceably, some as servants and dependants,—others having herds of cattle, which they grazed in unoccupied tracts of land.

On the frontier, however, mutual hostility and depredation continued to subsist between the Caffers and the Christians. Reciprocal injuries had generated reciprocal animosity, and the Caffers, mindful of former wrongs, were ready on all occasions to plunder the boors. At length, about 1810, complaints of these disorders became so urgent, that an order was issued by the Colonial Government (now British) to drive them across the Fish River. At the time the Commando assembled to accomplish this object, it was in the summer, when their crops of vegetables were fit for using. There is little doubt that the Caffers felt very reluctant to leave a country which they had occupied the greater part of a century; and the hardship of abandoning their crops was urgently pleaded,—since, in consequence of this measure, they must necessarily suffer a year of famine. And having, at a remote period, bought part of the country from the Aborigines, and (as they alleged) paid a second price to the Colonial Authorities on the frontier for an enlargement of territory only a few years previous to this time, they remonstrated strongly against the injustice of the order.

These remonstrances, however, were not listened to. All the Caffers were collected who

had been living among the Colonists, and conducted by a military escort over the Great Fish River. The Caffers in Albany retreated, but only before the Commando, and showed determined reluctance in quitting a country which they might certainly with some propriety call their own. During these proceedings there was some intercourse still between the Commando and the main body of the Caffers, and an interview was proposed between the Caffer chiefs and the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, Mr. Stockenstrom. That magistrate, who was well acquainted with many of the chiefs, met some of the Mandankæ Caffers belonging to Congo, in the middle of a wood near the Zuurberg, with little more than a dozen attendants. These Caffers, perhaps recollecting the murder of their forefathers by the Colonists, took this opportunity to obtain their revenge; for Mr. Stockenstrom and most of his attendants were treacherously murdered on the spot.

After the Caffers had been driven over the Fish River, military posts were established on its banks to prevent their return, and check their depredations. However, from this period to 1817, they continued to annoy the Colonists on the frontier by occasional inroads,—sometimes murdering the herdsmen, and taking away the cattle; and although there was every precaution adopted by the military, such is the nature of the country along the Fish River, that ten times the number of troops that have ever been kept on the frontier would have been quite insufficient to prevent these disorders. Their marauding parties seldom consist of more than six or eight men, and often not more than two or three; therefore, a patrole of ten or more troops sent out in search of two or three Caffers, are seldom successful in overtaking them.

In 1817 the Governor visited Cafferland, and had an interview with Gaika, and some of the other chiefs, when it was arranged, that all cattle in their possession of colonial breed, and all horses should be given up. The Caffers had been in a state of frequent warfare with the Colony for forty years prior to this period, long before it was taken by the English; and it is therefore probable, that cattle taken in what they considered just warfare, may thus have been extorted from them, and thus increased their secret heart-burnings.

One particular arrangement then made, was, that if cattle stolen from the Colony were traced to any Caffer kraal, that kraal should be held responsible, and either find the cattle or give an equal number.

Another arrangement proposed by the Colonial Government on this occasion was, to make Gaika responsible for the conduct of the Caffer nation, and that the Government should treat only with him, and have nothing to do with any of the other chiefs. This gave Gaika some consequence, but gained him no respectability; for the plan proposed was repugnant to the feelings of the other Caffers, as every chief considers himself a king in his own kraal, and altogether irresponsible to any superior.

From this period, Gaika acted according to his engagement, and a number of horses and Colonial cattle were sent out. Yet S'Lhambi and some of his adherents did not acknowledge Gaika's authority; and in some instances they sent out cattle themselves, without acquainting Gaika. This renewed the old jealousy between them.

During these proceedings Makanna (or Lynx, as he is commonly called in the Colony), who was a Caffer of intelligence, and had some ideas of religion, imposed on the credulity of his

countrymen, and by professing to be a teacher and prophet, acquired great respect among all the adherents of Congo and S'Lhambi's party. He collected a number of followers around him, and by his humane and popular conduct and high pretensions, gained a very great name in the country, and became the chief counsellor of the disaffected chiefs. Gaika was well aware of the influence of Makanna; but the means by which he tried to counteract it, only resulted in rendering himself less popular.

The state of the frontier remained much the same, and in Cafferland there was much secret animosity gaining ground. S'Lhambi despised Gaika, and said, "Shall I be subject to a boy, whom I have nursed?" Makanna, knowing the hatred of Gaika towards himself, did all in his power to set the other chiefs at variance with him. At this period there was also a misunderstanding between Gaika's Caffers and those belonging to Hinza; and one thing that particularly created resentment against the former was, that some of his men took away by force some of the plumes of the crown feathers (which are worn by the warriors) from Hinza's people. Gaika, moreover, thought proper to take to himself a wife (Tata), who belonged to one of S'Lhambi's counsellors; and on a remonstrance being made on the subject, refused to give her up. This led to a serious dissension among the Caffer clans, and they began to make preparations for war, particularly in making ready shields and assagais. These preparations and the assembling of the forces were entirely under the superintendence of Dusani, S'Lhambi's son and successor in his chieftainship. Makanna had also a leading hand in all this, and a number of Hinza's people joined against Gaika.

The place where they engaged was between the Buffalo River and the Debè. Gaika's people had been assembled to meet the enemy for part of two days, and in this time they had nothing to eat. The place where they assembled was on the side of a hill, not far from the Debè; and on this hill, Gaika sat when his men went on to the combat. S'Lhambi's party had several guns, which annoyed Gaika's followers, and made them in a short time give way. From the small number of assagais they carry, their conflicts are generally soon over; though not unfrequently they meet in a bushy place, and continue skirmishing for a good part of a day. But in this engagement there was a complete chase, and S'Lhambi's party having a number of horses, they came up with the fugitives, and made a selection of those who had the greatest riches, that is, who had most beads and ornaments; these were slain, while others, from their apparent poverty, were suffered to escape. The number killed was considerable; and Gaika lost the whole of his old counsellors, with the exception of one. The victors did not continue the pursuit; but Jaluhsa, the brother of S'Lhambi, who from his position, (residing between Gaika's kraal and the Kat River,) and his promise to support Gaika's party, had been restrained from joining his brother, on seeing the defeat of the former immediately joined in plundering, and captured a great number of cattle between the Chumi and Keiskamma, belonging to Gaika's followers.

Gaika, after this defeat, fled westward, near to the sources of the Kounap River, and with all possible speed made his situation known to the Colonial authorities on the frontier. Shortly after, there was a strong force sent from the Colony to chastise S'Lhambi and his adherents, which in a very short period captured a great number of cattle. Nine thousand were given to

Gaika as a remuneration for the losses he had sustained, and more than that number were brought out to the Colony. The confederate chiefs then turned all their fury against the Colony, and in a very short time, the country between the Fish River and the Zwartkops was overrun by the Caffers, and several of the small military posts were obliged to be evacuated. The boors who inhabited the Zuurveld fled, and removed their cattle to the westward of Uitenhage. In these attacks, the Caffers showed a determined resolution to recover their cattle; yet, although they killed many of the soldiers and colonists, they did not evince that blood-thirsty disposition that is common to most barbarians. When they could get away the cattle without being opposed, they made no attempt on the lives of the inhabitants.

After they had overrun the whole country, they assembled in great force to attack Graham's Town. The Caffers engaged in this enterprise were the adherents of S'Lhambi, Congo, Habanna, and Makanna, with a few of Hinza's followers, whom Dusani, S'Lhambi's son, had prevailed on to join his party. The Caffers were under the command of Makanna and Dusani, and it is certain they were well aware of the smallness of the military force in Graham's Town; whether through the medium of Gaika's interpreters, or from their own spies, is doubtful. Before the attack, Gaika gave information at the military post at Roodewal, stating what the hostile chiefs were concerting. The Caffers were elated by their former success, and Makanna had assured them of victory; yet from the bloody defeat they met with on this occasion,* it is obvious what a vast superiority the use of fire-arms confers, and how weak an enemy the Caffers are, when encountered by Europeans in the open plain.

After the failure of their attack on Graham's Town, the Caffers were much disconcerted, and retreated in a short time over the Fish River. In August 1819, a great Commando entered Cafferland, and captured, in a short time, a vast number of cattle in the kraals along the Fish River. The Commando from the district of Graaff-Reinet, entered Cafferland from the Tarka, and came upon the inhabited part of the country near the sources of Kat River; but before their arrival in that quarter, S'Lhambi had crossed the Keiskamma; and Congo, who was near the mouth of the Fish River, with Habanna, after an interview with Major Fraser, was allowed to remain on the coast between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers. At the same time Makanna, finding he was declared an outlaw by the Colonial Government, and ordered to be taken dead or alive, surrendered himself to the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, upon his life being guaranteed. He was sent a prisoner to Robben Island,—a fate which he appears not to have anticipated; and was soon after drowned in attempting to make his escape.

The Commando proceeded to scour the Caffer country; one party penetrating along the coast almost to the mouth of the Kei; another along the mountains and woods near the sources of the Keiskamma and Buffalo Rivers. The regular troops brought up the baggage, and acted as a guard for the captured cattle, being posted in the centre of the country. S'Lhambi's followers having retreated to the Kei, afterwards proceeded up that river; and though the pursuit was continued by the Commando of boors on horseback, they were never able to come up with the main body of the Caffers. The foot soldiers proceeded slowly along with the waggons and

* See notice of this attack, at page 36.

artillery; and although the whole country in their route was deserted by most of the inhabitants, except the women and children, on several occasions numbers of these helpless creatures were shot,—who being unable to fly with their children along with the armed Caffers, had taken shelter in the ravines and woods. The European troops, not being able to distinguish them at first from the men, fired upon them indiscriminately; which created great horror and indignation in the country,—for the Caffer tribes, in their own wars, never kill nor molest the women and children.

The number of cattle captured by this Commando was very considerable—nearly thirty thousand,—and these mostly taken from S'Lhambi's followers. They were distributed among such of the frontier boors as had lost cattle by Caffer depredations during the late disorders. Part were also sold to defray the expense of the Commando.

On the termination of hostilities, the Commandant had an interview with Gaika, when it was settled that the country between the Keiskamma and Fish Rivers was to be evacuated, and to remain neutral and unoccupied, except by military posts. S'Lhambi was proclaimed an outlaw, and ordered to be delivered up by the other Caffers. But although this was the arrangement between Gaika and the Colonial Government, S'Lhambi was neither forsaken by his adherents, nor lost any share of his former influence in the country.

After this convention the troops on the frontier were employed in building a fort and barracks on the Keiskamma, now called Fort Willshire. Gaika, when obliged to evacuate the Neutral Territory, remarked, that he was indeed indebted to the Colonial Government for protection, and his existence as a chief—"but," added he, "when I look at the large extent of fine country which has been taken from me, I am compelled to say, that though protected, I am rather oppressed by my benefactors."

Government.—All those who have the rank of chiefs among the Amakosæ, are, with only one or two exceptions, lineal descendants by male issue from Toguh: Hinza and Gaika are the eight in direct succession from this patriarch. The Congo family, as has been already noticed, are the descendants of a warrior who distinguished himself under Tshio; and Makanna, though of obscure origin, had acquired by his talents and supernatural pretensions, a rank in the nation equal or superior to the chiefs of purest lineage. These, however, are exceptions; and the blood royal of the race of Toguh may be said to be the aristocracy of the Amakosæ.

The chiefs are the principal judges, and every matter of importance is decided by them. Next in rank are persons selected from the common class of Caffers, as counsellors to the chiefs. These are usually the wisest, the bravest, or the wealthiest of the tribe. The oldest counsellors have the precedence; the others rank according to their standing in office. This office is not hereditary; but it frequently happens that the son succeeds the father in it. The great advantage which all the chiefs, great and small, possess over the other classes is, that the property of the former is hereditary, while that of the latter may be claimed, on their decease, by the chief, under whom they have lived. This pretension, however, is on many occasions only partially enforced, in others not at all; and among some tribes, as for instance the Mandankæ, it has fallen entirely into disuse. Among the Tambookies it has no existence.

Although there is more freedom among the Caffers than in many countries far more advanced in civilization, yet it must not be concealed that there also exists a good deal of injustice and violence, and that the weak are often oppressed by the strong. The division of the Amakosæ into numerous independent clans, however, although it renders them weak and unprogressive as a community, is favourable to the liberty of the lower ranks; for when the subject of any particular chief finds himself deeply aggrieved or oppressed, he seeks protection from some rival chief; and as it is the interest of all to increase the number of their adherents, an asylum is scarcely ever refused, or the refugee given up to his former lord. The fear of desertion consequently operates as a considerable check on the arrogance and cupidity of the chieftains.

Crimes and Punishments.—The Caffers are not of that vindictive and blood-thirsty disposition, which is generally so characteristic of savage nations. Murder is not frequent among them; one great reason of which is, that most grievances (except those inflicted by powerful chiefs) are immediately redressed, by the offender being publicly tried, and punished or fined according to his demerits.

When offences are committed, or disputes occur, and the matter cannot be settled by the interference of friends, it is brought by the aggrieved party before his chieftain's court. Those concerned are immediately summoned to appear before a public meeting of the tribe or clan. The place where these meetings are convened is usually the cattle kraal of the horde or village; but if the weather be very warm, they sometimes assemble under the shade of the trees in some neighbouring wood.

The parties concerned sit at the entrance of the kraal or place of assembly; the rest take their station in a circle within; but women are not allowed to enter, and only a few of the oldest and most respectable persons speak. When the matter is of great importance, the most profound attention is paid. The speakers rise in succession, with the greatest decorum; and make long and animated harangues, until all sides of the subject have been fully considered and discussed. After this the chief, who acts as president of the court, gives his opinion, and refers it to the consideration of the assembly, who either concur in his decision, or assign their reasons for dissent. Sometimes an important cause is kept pending for several days; but this is not generally the case,—for as there are no fees for the advocates, the length of the process does not increase the costs.

Murder, when it occurs, is generally the result of sudden passion, and it is not avenged (except in the case of a chief) by any severer punishment than the seizure of the whole property of the criminal.

Theft is punished by fining the culprit:—thus if a person steal a cow, and slaughter it at his kraal, every one implicated is obliged to pay a beast to the plaintiff; so that it frequently happens that a theft is repaid twenty-fold.

Adultery is also punished by fine; and this fine is generally in proportion to the rank of the woman and the respectability of the prosecutor. If the husband, however, should chance to detect his wife in adultery, he may legally kill her partner in guilt—and such a slaughter

would not be prosecuted nor revenged. Formerly the chiefs used to put to death any man detected in criminal intercourse with their wives; but they now generally content themselves with seizing the whole property of the offender. The woman is seldom punished otherwise than by divorce or corporal chastisement.

If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, and her paramour refuses to take her to wife, he is obliged to pay a fine equal to the dowry he would have had to pay to her parents had he sought her in marriage. The women are not unacquainted with means of procuring miscarriage, and not unfrequently resort to such means, especially in illicit connexions; but for this crime there is no punishment.

Besides fining, the following modes of punishment are occasionally put in practice:—beating the culprit with rods; applying hot stones to his naked body; or exposing him to be tormented by clusters of black ants. Capital punishment is inflicted either by the culprit being killed with a club, strangled, drowned, or thrust through with an assagai; and sometimes by being fixed in the cleft of a tree, forcibly drawn asunder to admit the convict, and then allowed to close on him.

Sorcery.—These latter severe punishments and cruel tortures are most commonly inflicted for the imaginary crime of witchcraft or sorcery, which is a most prevailing superstition among all the Caffer tribes, and one of the most deplorable calamities which results from their ignorance of true religion.

The mode in which this delusion usually operates is as follows.—Disease, especially if of any unusual description, is commonly ascribed to sorcery. A witch-doctor is immediately sent for, and these impostors never fail to encourage such belief. The sorcerer is believed to effect his malignant purposes by hiding some charmed thing about the hut of the person afflicted. Search is therefore made for such objects; and the doctor digs up or pretends to find them, consisting of bits of horn, hide, or any thing else that can be discovered, though of the most ordinary description. Some person is then fixed upon as the sorcerer. The accused is seized, and, if unable at once to repel the accusation, is put to the torture by some of the modes formerly mentioned, in order to force a confession. This is generally extorted,—for few of the poor wretches have resolution to persist in maintaining their innocence amidst the torments to which the cruel ingenuity of their persecutors subjects them. Conviction thus obtained, the culprit, according to the enormity of his supposed crime, is condemned either to a cruel death, to corporal chastisement, or to a fine of cattle. Sometimes the accused escapes, even after confession, without any other infliction than that of a bad character—for he must ever after suffer the opprobrium and dangerous suspicion of sorcery.

Religion and Superstitions.—The Caffers believe in a Supreme Being, to whom they give the appellation of *Uhlanga* (Supreme,) or frequently the Hottentot name *Utïka* (Beautiful.) They also believe in the immortality of the soul; but have no idea of a future state of rewards and punishments. Of a superintending Providence they have some notion; and sometimes pray for success in their warlike or hunting expeditions,—and in sickness for health and

strength. They believe in the attendance of the souls of their deceased relations; and in great emergencies, and especially on going to war, invoke their aid. On the death of a friend they fast for some time; and the first time they eat, they pray that the spirit of the deceased may be propitious. The spirit they call *Shulùga*.

They conceive that thunder proceeds from the direct operation of the Deity; and if a person is killed by lightning, they say that God (*Uhlanga*) has been amongst them. On such occasions they sometimes remove their residence from the spot, and offer a heifer or an ox in sacrifice. If cattle are struck dead by lightning, they are carefully buried. Sometimes they sacrifice to the rivers in the time of drought, by killing an ox and throwing part of it into the channel.

There are also superstitions connected with certain animals, of which it is difficult to understand the origin. For instance, if a person is accidentally killed by an elephant, it is usual to offer a sacrifice, apparently to appease the demon that is supposed to have actuated the animal: and if a person kill by accident a *mahem*, (or Balearic crane,) or one of those birds which the Colonists call *brom-vogel*, (a species of tucan,) he is obliged to sacrifice a calf or young ox in atonement.

They sometimes imagine that a spirit (*shulùga*) resides in a particular ox, and propitiate it by prayers when going on their hunting expeditions. They also conceive that certain persons possess the power of prospering their undertakings; and therefore occasionally implore their favourable influence, and when fortunate, ascribe their success to their agency.

Circumcision, &c.—Circumcision is a rite strictly and universally practised among the Caffer tribes; but they possess no tradition respecting its origin. It is regarded as an important ceremony, by which the youths, when arrived at the age of puberty, are admitted to the rank of manhood. On this occasion, the boys to be circumcised have a separate kraal or residence allotted them, where, after the operation, they must reside three months, separate from the rest of the community. As soon as they are circumcised, they are smeared over with pipe-clay, and must remain painted in this fashion during the whole time of their noviciate. During this period they are not allowed to work or do any menial office, but persons are appointed to attend them, who supply them with victuals, or whatever other necessaries they may require, but who must not control them in any of their wishes or whims. Thus they are permitted to pluck the maize or melons in the gardens without contradiction; and should they even think fit to kill some of the cattle, they are not to be opposed nor found fault with. The whole three months are spent in dancing, and visiting other youths at the neighbouring kraals, who are undergoing the same probationary ceremony as themselves.

They are daily visited by the women and children of their own kraal, before whom they dance. They are obliged to wear a sort of *kilt*, or petticoat of palm leaves, which is made by fastening the leaves to a cord long enough to go five times round the body, so that their loose ends reach about half-way down the thigh. This has a fantastic but not unpleasing appearance,

and makes an odd rustling noise while they are dancing. They wear also a cap of the same materials, which is so contrived that the leaves partly cover the face.

After the noviciate of three months has expired, a new carosse or mantle is prepared for each. They are washed from the pipe-clay, and smeared over with fat and iron ore, and all their temporary huts, palm dresses, and old carosses are burned. They are then brought into the public kraal of their village, where all the people are assembled to receive them. After sitting some time alone, one of the oldest men addresses them in a formal harangue; the purport of which is, to admonish them to consider themselves hereafter as men, to conduct themselves properly as such, and to forget and cast behind them childish things. After this address, they are admitted into fellowship and society with the men; and all their friends make them presents, such as assagais, buttons, beads, and other ornaments.

The Caffers despise Hottentots, Bushmen, Malays, and other people of colour, on account of their not being circumcised. On this account, they regard them as boys, and will not allow them to sit in their company, or to eat with them. Europeans they appear to consider as a higher caste.

The young females, on arriving at the age of puberty, are also subjected to certain restrictions and ceremonies. They are secluded in a separate hut for ten days; and during this period are not allowed to drink milk. The parents of each girl thus immured must slaughter a beast for her; which is divided among the female children of the kraal. The noviciate concludes with a feast and dancing; and after this period the young maidens take their rank in the society of women, and are considered marriageable.*

Marriage.—The young females are often betrothed before they arrive at marriageable state. The marriages are generally made by the parents, and it is not unusual for them to send one of their daughters to a family when there is a young man of fit age to be married. With the young girl some attendants are sent; and if the father of the youth is pleased with the maiden, and consents to give the number of cattle required by her family, there is a beast slaughtered, and after several days spent in feasting and dancing, the young couple are acknowledged as man and wife.

The price generally paid by the family of the bridegroom to that of the bride is ten oxen; but the chiefs, when they marry wives of high lineage, must sometimes give five or six times that number.

On the marriage of a woman of rank there is an address delivered to her by one of the old men of her own tribe, before she leaves the home of her kindred, admonishing her how to conduct herself with propriety in her new relationship;—that she must strive to be a prudent housewife, be obedient to her husband, attentive to his aged parents, particularly when sick,—careful of whatever is committed to her charge; and is specially enjoined to be meek and submissive when insulted, and to remain silent, "even though she be accused of witchcraft,"—which is considered the deepest insult that can be offered, and is usually expressed by throwing ashes upon their heads.

* This seems to be the same ceremony as that of Boïalloa witnessed by the author at Kuruman.

On her arrival at the kraal of the bridegroom, she is conducted to a hut, while some of the young men dance around and sweep the ground with branches before her, as an intimation that she is expected in like manner to be always neat, clean, and orderly in her household.

Polygamy is freely allowed, nor is there any restriction in regard to the number of wives which a man may take; but on account of the considerable number of cattle required by the relatives as a maiden's dowry, and the difficulty of supporting a numerous family, scarcely any man of common rank weds more than one. Some of the chiefs, however, have four or five wives; and Gaika, who is somewhat of a Turk in this, as well as in other respects, has upwards of a dozen. In their connubial connections they observe with great strictness certain rules of consanguinity, and are particularly scrupulous never to intermarry with persons descended from the same ancestors with themselves, although related only in the ninth or tenth degree. If they are able to trace their descent from the same progenitor, however remote, they are always called brothers and sisters. In consequence of this law, the Amakosæ chiefs usually procure their principal wives from the Tambookie tribe, because all the families of rank in their own nation are of the same lineage.—If a wife dies without children, it is not forbidden for the husband to marry one of her sisters.

If a wife leaves her husband, and refuses to return, her husband may demand back all the cattle which he paid her father and friends as dowry gift; but if she has borne him children, her relatives are not obliged to return the dowry,—the children being viewed as an equivalent for the mother.

Medicine and Surgery.—They are aware of the medicinal virtues of several plants, and use them when sick as purgatives, emetics and carminatives. For severe head-aches they universally practise cupping on the temples, which they perform by making slight incisions, and then placing upon the part the end of a bullock's horn, perforated for the purpose, and sucking till a sufficient quantity of blood be withdrawn. If the distemper does not yield to this remedy, they shave the head and apply to it a quantity of the leaves of certain plants, which occasion profuse perspiration.

They have considerable expertness in setting a broken bone or reducing a dislocation. In setting bones, they bind the limb, with pieces of bark laid along the fracture. In wounds they apply the leaves of various plants; after which, nature is left to effect a cure. In cases of debility in the muscles of the hand or fingers, they are accustomed to cut off the first joint of the little finger.

There are a few midwives among them, but in general the Caffer women are delivered without any assistance.

Funeral Rites, &c.—The Caffers, in former days, buried their dead, but at the present time only the chiefs and persons of consequence are interred. When they think that death is approaching, they carry out the sick person into a thicket near the kraal, and leave him to expire alone; for they have a great dread of being near, or touching a corpse, and imagine that death brings misfortune on the living when it occurs in a hut or kraal.

Owing to this superstition they are so anxious to get rid of the dying, that it sometimes happens that those who have the honour of being buried, are actually interred while yet alive. I know of one case of a woman, who, after she was put into the grave, called out for her mother. Cases have also occasionally occurred, where those who had been carried out into the woods have got better,—though this happens but seldom. I know one instance of a Caffer, who, after being carried into the woods, and remaining four days there, recovered and crept home to the house of his mother, who on seeing him had almost expired from fear, thinking his appearance preternatural.

When a person dies, there is a fast held for that day by the whole hamlet. A man on the death of his wife is considered unclean, and must separate himself from society for two weeks, and fast for some days. He is not allowed to enter any kraal or dwelling, but must remain in the field, where his food is brought to him, until the period of separation is expired; and before he is re-admitted he must have a new dress. The wife must observe the same rules on the death of her husband,—only her period of separation is longer.

Every part of the dress of a deceased person is considered unclean, and must be destroyed or thrown away; and even his beads and ornaments must be purified and strung anew. The hut, also, of the deceased, although he were removed from it before death, must be shut up; no person ever enters it again, and the children are forbid to go near it. It is called the house of the dead. It is left to fall gradually to decay, and no one dares even to touch the materials of which it is constructed till they have crumbled into dust.

The chiefs are always interred in the cattle-fold, as the place of greatest honour.

Dress and Ornaments.—Both sexes wear a *carosse* or mantle of softened hide, generally of the bullock, but sometimes also of the leopard, antelope, or other wild animals. To the mantle of the females is affixed a long stripe of leather which hangs from the shoulders down the back, and is ornamented with rows of buttons and other trinkets. The females wear a sort of petticoat of leather round the loins, and have usually, also, a covering over the bosom. When in full dress, they wear a sort of turban of the fur of the beautiful little antelope, the blue buck. From the neck is suspended a small tortoise-shell, filled with the seed of a species of celery, which they bruise, and use in perfuming their bodies. The ornaments of the men are armlets of copper or ivory, strings of beads suspended round their necks and from their ears, &c. and most of them wear a girdle of brass beads round their bodies. The males have no apron or covering round the loins, and their first appearance is on that account, to European eyes, unpleasantly naked. Most of the young men have their bodies painted red, and their hair curled into small knots like pease. Both sexes have their bodies tattooed, especially on the shoulders.

Agriculture.—Bread.—Beer.—Pottery.—The chief object of Caffer cultivation is a species of millet (*holcus sorghum*), besides which they raise maize, kidney-beans, pumpkins, and water melons. Their seed-time commences about the middle of August, and terminates in November. They ascertain the season for commencing, by observing the position of the Pleiades

and some other constellations. The ground is chiefly cultivated by the females. The implement used is a sort of spade made of the *nies-hout* tree, in shape not unlike the broad end of an oar. They sow the grain on the surface of the ground before it is digged, and cover it in as they proceed. They only turn up the soil to the depth of about three inches; but all the weeds and grass roots are carefully picked out and spread on the surface of the cultivated plot, where they remain as a covering to protect the young plants when germinating, and from being battered by heavy rains, or burnt up by drought. As soon as the plants have made their appearance above this covering, it is carefully removed; and if the seeds have failed on any spot, it is replanted.

The fences of the fields and gardens consist of thorny shrubs cut for the purpose annually. This part of the work is performed by the men; and they usually inclose a much larger area than is cultivated, and leave a broad space between the hedge and the cultivated ground, in order that the cattle may not be so much tempted to break through.

If the season be favourable, the maize is fit for use in January, and they have a succession of crops till April. Early pumpkins they have about the same time. The crops of millet are usually ripe about the middle of April. Of this latter grain they have several varieties; one (the stalk of which has a taste not unlike sugar cane, but the seed, a bitter and rather an astringent flavour,) is raised solely for the purpose of making beer; the other sort is their bread corn. The water-melon chiefly cultivated by them, is a peculiar species; and they preserve it by cutting it in slices, and hanging it up in their huts to be used as need requires.

They make bread by grinding the millet between two stones with the hand. It is baked by covering it up with hot ashes, and has very much the flavour of oaten cakes. It is nutritive, and by no means unpleasant. Bread is sometimes made also from malted corn; and sometimes the meal is made into porridge; but the most common way of using their corn is by boiling it unground, either alone, or with slices of pumpkin.

Their beer is made in the following manner.—The grain is first malted, and afterwards dried and ground. It is then boiled up into a pretty thick porridge; and to this are added two parts of water. While in a tepid state, some of the meal made from the malt is thrown into it; in a short time fermentation takes place; and it is then considered fit for drinking. The taste is far from disagreeable; and with proper vessels, and a little more skill, there is no reason to doubt that very good beer might be thus manufactured.

The Caffers preserve their corn in magazines contrived in the following manner.—A pit is dug in the cattle kraal, little more than a foot in diameter at the entrance, but gradually widening to the bottom; and the sides are plastered with a mixture of sand and cow-dung. Being filled to the mouth with grain, the orifice is closed with a flat stone, and so secured that no water can penetrate. These magazines hold from ten to twenty-eight bushels; and this being a quantity inconvenient for a family to dispose of when the store is opened, they are in the habit of lending to one another in rotation. The grain kept in these pits, being entirely excluded from the air, soon loses the power of germinating; and therefore what is intended for seed is reserved in the ear, and hung up in their huts till required.

They make a coarse sort of earthenware by kneading a paste of clay mixed with river sand,

and afterwards fashioning the vessels with the hand. These, after being dried in the sun, are baked in a fire of cow-dung. They are generally used for boiling victuals. They use also a few wooden vessels, carved out of soft wood; and their rush baskets are well known, which are so closely woven as to retain milk and other liquids.

Hunting.—Though not, like the poor Bushmen, impelled to the chase to provide for their subsistence, they are passionately fond of it, as an active and animating amusement. They generally go out to hunt in large parties; and when they find game in the open fields, they endeavour to surround the animals, or drive them to some narrow pass, which is previously occupied by long files of hunters, stationed on either side, who, as the herd rushes through between, pierce them with showers of assagais. This mode is chiefly pursued with the larger sorts of antelopes. The smaller bucks they sometimes knock down with the *kirri*, or war club, which they throw with great force and expertness: birds are generally killed with the same weapon. They have also modes of catching the smaller game by gins and springes, fixed in their paths through the woods and thickets.

In hunting the elephant they use great caution, for when enraged, he is a very formidable antagonist. They usually select a situation to attack him where there is covert to assist them in eluding his pursuit, without being so dense as to incumber their own movements.* When the elephant singles out any one of the hunters, he flies to leeward, and gets behind some rock

* The following anecdotes may serve to show how dangerous an animal the elephant is when provoked. The first is extracted from Van Reenen's Journal, elsewhere referred to:—

"A large male elephant having come up near to the waggons, we instantly pursued and attacked him. After he had received several shots, and had twice fallen, he crept into a very thick thorny underwood. Thinking that we had fully done for him, Tjaart Van der Waldt, Lodewyk Prins, and Ignatius Mulder, advanced to the spot where he was hid; when he rushed out in a furious manner from the thicket, and with his trunk catching hold of Lodewyk Prins, who was then on horseback, trod him to death; and driving one of his tusks through his body, threw him into the air to the distance of thirty feet. The others, perceiving that there was no possibility of escaping on horseback, dismounted, and crept into the thicket to hide themselves. The elephant having nothing now in view but the horse of Van der Waldt, followed it for some time; when he turned about and came to the spot near to where the dead body lay, looking about for it. At this instant, our whole party renewed the attack, in order to drive him from the spot; when, after that he had received several shots, he again escaped into the thickest of the wood. We now thought that he was far enough off, and had already begun to dig a grave for our unfortunate companion, at which we were busily employed, when the elephant rushed out again, and driving us all away, remained by himself there on the spot. Tjaart Van der Waldt got another shot at him, at the distance of an hundred paces. We every one of us then made another attack upon him; and, having now received several more bullets, he began to stagger; then falling, the Hottentots, with a shot or two more, killed him as he lay on the ground.

"The fury of this animal is indescribable. Those of our party who knew any thing of elephant hunting, declared that it was the fleetest and most furious they had ever beheld.

"The Hottentots often told us that the elephant's custom is, whenever attacked, never to leave a dead body, until, by piecemeal, they have swallowed the whole carcase; and that they themselves had seen a Hottentot killed much in the same manner as our friend, of whose body they never could find the least remains.

or bush; and the animal's vision being defective, though his smell is very acute, it is not very difficult thus to escape his pursuit. In the mean while, the other hunters, while his attention is thus engaged, approach more closely, and pour in their assagais; and when he turns upon another of them, the same plan is adopted. In this manner they will sometimes carry on their attack upon this gigantic animal for a whole day; and before he falls, he is often pierced by more than a thousand assagais. Not unfrequently he escapes from them; and, with all their caution and agility, sometimes avenges himself by the destruction of one or two of his pursuers.

The rhinoceros they hunt in a similar manner; and though next to the elephant in strength, his far greater stupidity renders him much less dangerous.

For the hippopotamus they dig pits in the river banks, which are slightly covered over, and have a strong stake fixed in the centre; they then lie in wait for the animal when he comes out to graze, and driving him into the paths where the pits are dug, complete his destruction.

The buffalo, though inferior in size and strength to the three last-named animals, and not so difficult to kill, is much superior to them all in activity and fierceness. In spite, however, of many fatal accidents, the buffalo is often hunted and destroyed by the Caffers.

The lion is hunted with great spirit, and is not very numerous in Cafferland. The manner they adopt is as follows.—A large band go out with their shields and assagais, surround the thicket where he lies concealed, and tease him with their dogs, until he gets irritated, and bursts out of his covert upon the plain. The hunters then fall down and draw their large shields over

This, probably, would have been the fate of our companion, had we not made so severe an attack on the elephant."—Captain Riou's Translation, p. 39.

This notion of the elephant swallowing the flesh of the person he has killed is quite unfounded; but it is certain that this animal, when provoked, evinces often violent and inveterate animosity, and will frequently return to trample the body of his victim with his gigantic feet, or to throw it into the air with his trunk. A few years ago, Lieutenant J. Moodie made a very narrow escape while hunting elephants in the woods near Bushman's River. A female that had been fired at, and separated from her young one, rushed upon her assailants, and ran down Mr. Moodie, who luckily stumbled and fell just as she reached him. The elephant attempted to thrust him through, but, having only one tusk, fortunately missed him, and only gave him a severe buffet with her foot in passing over him. Before she could turn to renew the attack, Mr. Moodie contrived to scramble into the bush, and her young one at that instant crying at a little distance, the enraged animal went off without searching for him farther.

The South African male elephant, when fully grown, is said to attain sometimes the enormous height of eighteen feet. This fact has been doubted by some naturalists, but I have heard so many well-authenticated instances of it stated, that I cannot well refuse my belief. The late Colonel Fraser told me that he had once seen one killed which measured upwards of seventeen feet; and other instances to the same effect have been mentioned to me by Lieutenant Devenish, the late Captain Macombie, and many of the frontier boors.

When I was at Somerset, I learned that Mr. Hart's waggons, while conveying an assortment of English ploughs, machinery, &c., from Algoa Bay through the Zuurberg forests, were attacked by a troop of elephants, the drivers chased away, some of the waggons overturned, and several of the agricultural implements pulled in pieces—as if the mischievous animals had guessed them to be (as they certainly were) portentous of their own extirpation.

their bodies. The lion frequently bounds forward, and pounces upon one of them, who, secured by his shield, defies his rage, while the rest at the same moment hurl their javelins and despatch him. Sometimes, however, the lion is too quick for them, or tears the man from under his shield, and kills or mangles him.

LANGUAGE.—The Caffer language is very peculiar, and somewhat difficult to acquire perfectly. Though, like all barbarous dialects, limited in its range, it is very ductile, and capable of innumerable inflections and new combinations,—in this respect resembling the classic rather than our modern European tongues. The following example of the conjugation of a verb will perhaps convey a better notion of its character than a mere list of words or phrases :—

UKUBIZA, TO CALL.

Present.

Sing.	1. Diabiza, I call.	*Plur.* 1. Siabiza, We call.
	2. Uabiza, Thou callest.	2. Neabiza, Ye call.
	3. Eabiza, He calls.	3. Paiabiza, They call.

Imperfect.

Sing.	1. Dibendibiza, I called.	*Plur.* 1. Sibesibiza, We called.
	2. Ubenubiza. Thou calledst.	2. Nebenebiza, Ye called.
	3. Ebenebiza, He called.	3. Pebepebiza, They called.

Perfect.

Sing.	1. Dabandabiza, I have called.	*Plur.* 1. Sabesabiza, We have called.
	2. Uabauabiza, Thou hast called.	2. Nabenabiza, Ye have called.
	3. Eabaeabiza, He has called.	3. Pabepabiza, They have called.

Pluperfect.

Sing.	1. Dikandabiza, I had called.	*Plur.* 1. Sikasabiza, We had called.
	2. Ukauabiza, Thou hadst called.	2. Nekanabiza, Ye had called.
	3. Ekeabiza, He had called.	3. Pakapabiza, They had called.

Future.

Sing.	1. Dobiza, I shall or will call.	*Plur.* 1. Sobiza, We shall call.
	2. Uobiza, Thou shalt call.	2. Nobiza, Ye shall call.
	3. Eobiza, He shall call.	3. Pobiza, They shall call.

Potential.

Sing.	1. Dingabiza, I may, can, or might call.	*Plur.* 1. Singabiza, We may, &c. call.
	2. Ungabiza, Thou mayst, &c. call.	2. Nangabiza, Ye may, &c. call.
	3. Engabiza, He may, &c. call.	3. Pangabiza, They may, &c. call.

Imperative.

Sing.	1. Mandibiza, Let me call.	*Plur.* 1. Masibiza, Let us call.
	2. Mäubiza, Do thou call.	2. Manibiza, Do ye call.
	3. Mäebiza, Let him call.	3. Mabibiza, Let them call.

Passive Form.

Sing.	1. Dibizwe, I am called.	*Plur.*	1. Sibizwe, We are called.
	2. Ubizwe, Thou art called.		2. Nebizwe, Ye are called.
	3. Ebizwe, He is called.		3. Pabizwe, They are called.

A verb is put into the interrogative, by affixing the syllable *na*, as *Dibizena*, Do I call?—and it assumes the negative form as follows:—

Present.	*Perfect.*
Andibiza, I call not.	Andibizanga, I have not called.
Akubiza, Thou callest not.	
Asibiza, We call not.	
Nosibiza, Ye call not.	*Passive.*
Pakabiza, They call not.	Andibizwanga, I was not called.

A verb receives a prefix corresponding with the first letter or syllable of its nominative; as *Hamba*, to go; *Untana uahamba*, the child goes; *Indodo ihamba*, the man goes; *Ihassi iahamba*, the horse goes; *Inkobo ihamba*, the ox goes; *Zinkobo ziahamba*, the oxen go, &c.

All adjectives and adverbs undergo the same variations, partaking of the prefixes of the substantives conjoined with them. The nouns have also diminutives analogous to the *je* in Dutch; as *Indodo*, a man; *Indodona*, a little man.*

To the above specimens I add the Lord's Prayer, with a literal translation, to afford some idea of the construction and idiom of the language:—

Bāo	wētu	osizulīne;	ilāku	gāma	ilinqueīle;	amānhla	ukūza	kuāku
Father	our	in Heaven	his	name	be holy	power	come	his

* The following specimen of Amakosa poetry is derived from another quarter. It is part of a hymn composed by a secondary chief, named Sicana, who formerly resided on the Kat River, and was converted to Christianity by the late Missionary, Mr. Williams. It may serve to convey some notion of the mellifluous flow of this interesting language, and of their oriental style of expression; but it is, of course, in a very different strain from their ordinary songs, which, when they have any meaning, are confined to the subjects of war and hunting.—

Sicana's Hymn.	*Free Translation.*
Ulin guba inkulu siambata tina,	He who is our mantle of comfort,
Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,	The giver of life, ancient on high,
Umdala uadala idala izula,	He is the Creator of the Heavens,
Yebinza inquinquis zixeliela:	And the ever-burning stars:
UTIKA umkula gozizulinè,	GOD is mighty in the heavens,
Yebinza inquinquis nozilimele.	And whirls the stars around the sky.
Umze uakonana subizièle,	We call on him in his dwelling-place,
Umkokeli ua sikokeli tina,	That he may be our mighty leader,
Uenze infama zenza ga bomi;	For he maketh the blind to see;
Imali inkula subizièle,	We adore him as the only good,
Wena wena q'aba inyaniza,	For he alone is a sure defence,
Wena wena kaka linyaniza,	He alone is a trusty shield,
Wena wena klati linyaniza:	He alone is our bush of refuge:
Ulodali bom' uadali pezula,	Even HE,—the giver of life on high,
Umdala uadala idala izula.	Who is the Creator of the heavens.

* See also Lichtenstein's remarks on this curious dialect in the Appendix to his Travels.

makūlu;	yenza	gokuāku,	noko	zisulīne	noko	zesulīne;	nāmhla	tīna	sēpe
greatly	be done	his will	as in	heaven	so	in earth	to-day	us	give
sonka	umhlāna-yonka;		zisūzi	zona	zetu,	zekinkēle	zona	zaba;	
bread	daily		take away	sins	our	as we forgive	the sins	of other	
zelondolos,	uqosyekēle		izonezētu;	usikulūli		umsīnda;	akandaūnios,		
preserve us	lead us not		into temptation	deliver us		from evil	thine the greatness		
	amanhla		asinkosīne,	napakāte		napakāte.	*Amen.*		
	the power		and the glory	for ever		and ever			

Description of the Country, &c.*—The country of the Amakosæ towards the north is bounded by high mountains. The first range is properly the termination of the Boschberg ridge; the second the termination of the Winterberg. Beyond these the country towards the north does not again fall abruptly, but runs out into extensive grassy plains, or tracts of table land, destitute of wood, but pretty well supplied with springs and *vleys* of water. These plains are only occasionally or partially inhabited by the Tambookies and Bushmen, and are well-stocked with large game, such as gnoos, bonteboks, springboks, &c.

On the south side the mountains descend abruptly, and are well-stocked with timber. The soil near their skirts is a heavy clay loam, evidently formed by the decomposition of the argillaceous substratum of the higher land. As you recede from the heights towards the sea-coast the country flattens; and there are no other mountains south of the chains I have mentioned, except those at the source of the Buffalo River.

There is no great variety of minerals in Cafferland. The high mountains are mostly composed of trap, and the smaller hills of sandstone and clay. Globular trap, serpentine, aluminous schistus, and ironstone, are found throughout the country. Limestone is only seen on the coast, and there not in abundance.

The water near the mountains is well-tasted. In the middle of the country the fountains are somewhat brackish, and occasionally tainted with sulphuric impregnations.

Between the Chumi and Keiskamma the country along the foot of the mountains is well watered, and particularly adapted for cultivation. The high mountains behind, clothed with wood, attract the clouds, and occasion frequent falls of rain. There are a great number of rivulets which issue from the ravines along the sides of the mountains, and water delightful little vallies, which are in many places adorned with large timber. The Chumi River, from near its source to where it falls into the Keiskamma, is thickly inhabited, the pasture being the best throughout the whole of Gaika's territory.

Near the Zolacha stream, we found a curious specimen of Caffer chronology. It was a small inclosure, formed by palisades, in the centre of which were planted two stems of the

* Mr. Brownlee has given a minute description of the Amakosa territory, and its mineral and vegetable productions, as observed by him upon a journey from the Chumi to the residence of Hinza, beyond the Great Kei; but this being too minute and voluminous for my present purpose, I have extracted only such passages as appeared most curious and interesting, and which were calculated at the same time to convey a general idea of the appearance of the country.

Euphorbia Arborea. This was in commemoration of the birth of twins; which the Caffers consider an event exceedingly propitious, and during the infancy of the children, nothing eatable must be carried from the kraal.

About twenty miles from the coast the aspect of the country changes, being more uneven, and abounding with small ridges, covered with straggling shrubbery. In all the vallies is found running water, which, though generally of a brackish quality, is not so much so as to be unpleasant to drink. Almost without exception along the rivulets there is a low tract of rich level land, which is clothed in many places with groves of large timber, consisting of the yellow wood, the assagai, and iron wood, and diversified with the *Erythrina Caffra,* (or coral-tree), and a species of wild fig, which is also found in some parts of Albany. This tract of country (Congo's territory) is generally well adapted for cultivation.

Congo and Pato live together, and Habanna has his kraal a little higher up the river. The country here is very populous. Congo and Pato are brothers. The former is the elder, but his mother not being a woman of rank, he cannot, according to the Amakosa customs, succeed to the chieftainship. He has, since the death of old Congo, (so well known on the frontier,) acted as regent in his brother's minority; and though Pato is now come of age, he generally deputes Congo to act on all important occasions, such as holding conferences with the other chiefs, or the British officers on the frontier, &c. The two brothers seem to live in a very good understanding, and to act with great unanimity.

While waiting here a large concourse of people came together to hear what they emphatically term "the great word;" and we embraced the opportunity to speak to them on the being and perfections of God, on our responsibility to him as reasonable creatures, and on a few other of the leading truths of religion. At every kraal we visited, we were always, without exception, listened to with great attention; and in the conversations that sometimes ensued, and the questions they put to us, the Caffers displayed very considerable intellect.

The River Kalumna is narrow at its mouth, being not more, apparently, than fifty yards across; but it appears deep, and the tide flows about ten miles up its channel. Its breadth for that distance is generally from 100 to 200 yards. It has beautiful windings, and on both sides are extensive tracts of rich flat land. In some places are steep rocky banks, covered with wood, overhanging the water. Here we saw considerable numbers of hippopotami. There is also abundance of fish in this river, and indeed in the mouths of all the rivers, and generally along the coast; but they are of no use to the inhabitants, for the Caffers do not eat fish,—regarding them as unclean.

The rocks along the beach at this part are composed entirely of sandstone, with none of those calcareous incrustations so common on many parts of the colonial coast. In the rocks along this river there appear fossil remains, apparently shells, the cavities of which are filled with oxide of iron. On the side of the river, near its mouth, there is a horizontal stratum nearly level with the water: this has the same texture, and appears to be the same in its component parts as the American millstone.

The country to the east of the Kalumna is more elevated, and well supplied with good water in the numerous ravines and valleys, and is full of inhabitants.

On approaching the Buffalo River, the country is fertile, and well stored with large timber, which is pleasantly scattered in picturesque clumps, even over the highest ground. In some places you find the small ridges composed of a fine red ferrugineous clay, beneath which is a bed of limestone; but this is not very common. We crossed the Buffalo River about two miles from the sea, where it was about forty yards broad. The banks are high and rocky, and covered with a great variety of trees and shrubs.

On the north-east side the country presents a great deal of beautiful scenery; and here are found also a greater variety of vegetable productions: among others, I observed several varieties of the acacia, and the *zamia*, or sago palm, called by Barrow the bread-fruit tree. On the Gunubi River I found a species of the *strelitzia* surpassing all the others in the beauty of its foliage. The whole exterior of this plant is so like the *musa*, that it can hardly be distinguished from it. The seeds are much larger than those of the *regina*, and are very palatable when roasted. The leaves grow to about six feet in height, including the puteolus; and the foliated part is about three feet in height and two in breadth. I had not an opportunity of seeing this fine plant in flower, but from what I could learn, it much resembles the above-mentioned species. I saw also a number of shrubs which I had not found in the Colony.

Between the Ikuku River and the Kei, the whole country is covered with large blocks of globular trap-stone, interspersed with the acacia. The soil is a rich black loam, evidently produced from a decomposition of the above stone. There is great abundance of grass, and water of the best quality, and the land is well adapted for cultivation.

The country north-east of the Kei is exceedingly well watered. In every little valley is found a rivulet of good water. The beds of many of the rivulets are shallow, and overgrown with aquatic plants, and at the sources of almost all of them there are groves of large timber.

About ten miles from Hinza's kraal, there is an extensive quarry of iron ore, which the Caffers dig for painting their bodies. This substance is found in nodular masses of yellow ironstone, or indurated clay. It is found only near the surface, and in pieces seldom larger than a hen's egg. A space of about half an acre had been dug up in the course of the season.

Interview with Hinza.—On our arrival at Hinza's kraal, we were told that the chief could not at present see us, not having been apprised of our visit until we were close to the kraal. They had some apprehension that we were followed by an armed force, for the whole of the men were prepared for resistance, each sitting with a bundle of assagais beside him, eyeing us attentively, without saying a word. However, after we had explained who we were, and the object of our visit, they seemed to lay aside their suspicions; and after some time spent in private consultation, one of the chief men told us we might unsaddle our horses, and allotted us a large empty hut to put our baggage in. About an hour after dark, Hinza sent a messenger to say that he was very much obliged to us for our visit, and that he had

sent to call together some of his chief men, in order to have a meeting with us next day, and hear what we had to say.

We observed that Hinza's hut was distinguished (according to the Caffer fashion) by having the tail of an elephant fixed to a pole erected beside it.

In the morning Hinza again sent a message, saying that, if convenient, he would now wait upon us ; and in a short time he came, attended by about twenty persons. We explained to him the object of our visit, namely, to inquire whether he and his people were willing to receive a missionary. He said he was desirous that we should remain another day at his kraal, in order that a number of his other counsellors and chief men who were at a distance might come and judge for themselves. The arrangements we had made did not admit of this delay, but we staid till the evening, and explained to the Chief, and the people who were with him, some of the leading truths of revealed religion, to which they listened with great attention. Afterwards Hinza asked a number of questions relative to what he had heard from us. The following were a few of them. "At what period was the Christian religion first propagated in the world?" "To what extent is it at present professed?" "Has it been received by a whole nation?" and "what influence has it had on the conduct of men?" To each of these we returned suitable answers. He then declared himself pleased with all that we had said; but still expressed his regret that several of his wisest and most respected counsellors had not had an opportunity of hearing us. We said that we would endeavour to pay him another visit ere long, and would send him previous notice of it, in order that all his principal people might attend. Before we departed, Hinza presented us with a fine ox, which he insisted on our accepting, without receiving any present in return.

Hinza is the principal hereditary chief of the Amakosa nation, and as such he is acknowledged by all the different tribes; but his authority extends only over the people residing in his own territory. His subjects are more numerous than those of Gaika, and he appears to be more respected, and more firmly established in his government. He is but a young man, not exceeding thirty-five years of age, with a robust and muscular frame, and an open and cheerful countenance. His principal wife is a daughter of the most powerful of the Tambookie Chiefs.

At Hinza's kraal we found a few people residing, who had come from a tribe lying to the north-west of Lattakoo. They had been a good while in this country; and from the great similarity both of their personal appearance and their language to that of the Caffers, it is evident they are originally of the same race; but I could not clearly ascertain whether they belong to the Bechuana or Damara tribes.

No. II.

NOTICES AND ANECDOTES OF THE AFRICAN LION.

BESIDES the occasional notices of the lion interspersed in my narrative, I had collected a number of hunting anecdotes, with the view of inserting a separate chapter on the subject, partly with a view to the illustration of the character and habits of this noble animal, and partly by way of entertainment to the lovers of light reading;—but finding that my friend Mr. Pringle has anticipated me in this purpose, and the work having already swelled beyond the size I had intended, I shall content myself (and I trust the reader also) by the insertion of Mr. P.'s amusing notices, with only a very few of my own collection as supplementary illustrations. The majority of these anecdotes have been already printed in a Cape periodical work, but they are probably not the less novel on that account to the English reader.

G. T.

Two varieties of the lion are found in South Africa, namely, the yellow and the brown; or, (as the Dutch Colonists often term the latter,) the blue or black lion. The dark coloured species is commonly esteemed the strongest and fiercest. I doubt, however, whether there is any real specific distinction, although some lion-hunters enumerate no less than four varieties; for the mere difference in size and colour may be either altogether accidental, or the consequence of a variation of food and climate in different districts.

The lions in the Bushmen's country, beyond the limits of the Colony, are accounted peculiarly fierce and dangerous. This is doubtless owing to their unacquaintance with civilized man,—the possessor of the formidable *roer* or rifle,—and still more perhaps to their instinctive awe of mankind having been extinguished by successful rencounters with the poor natives. It is said, that when the lion has once tasted human flesh, he thenceforth entirely loses his natural awe of human superiority: and it is asserted, that when he has once succeeded in snatching some unhappy wretch from a Bushman kraal, he never fails to return regularly every night in search of another meal; and often harasses them so dreadfully as to force the horde to desert their station. From apprehensions of such nocturnal attacks, some of these wretched hordes are said to be in the habit of placing their aged and infirm nearest the entrance of the cave or covert where they usually sleep, in order that the least valuable may first fall a prey, and serve as a ransom for the rest.

The prodigious strength of this animal does not appear to have been overrated. It is certain, that he can drag the heaviest ox with ease a considerable way; and a horse, heifer, hartebeest, or lesser prey, he finds no difficulty in throwing upon his shoulder and carrying off to any distance he may find convenient. I have myself witnessed an instance of a very young lion conveying a horse about a mile from the spot where he had killed it; and a more extraordinary case, which occurred in the Sneeuwberg, has been mentioned to me on good authority, where a lion, having carried off a heifer of two years old, was followed on the *spoor* or track

for fully five hours, by a party on horseback, and throughout the whole distance, the carcase of the heifer was only once or twice discovered to have touched the ground.* Many examples, not less remarkable, might easily be added, which would fully prove the lion to be by far the strongest and most active animal, in proportion to his size, that is known to exist.

Mr. Barrow has represented the lion of South Africa, as a cowardly and treacherous animal, always lurking in covert for his prey, and scampering off in shame and fear if he misses his first spring. I apprehend, that that intelligent traveller has in this, as in some other instances, been led to draw an erroneous conclusion by reasoning too hastily from limited experience or inaccurate information. The lion, it is true, not less now than in ancient times, usually "lurketh privily in secret places," and "lieth in wait" to spring suddenly and without warning upon his prey. This is the general characteristic of every variety of the feline tribe to which he belongs; and for this mode of hunting alone has Nature fitted them. The wolf and hound are furnished with a keener scent and untiring swiftness of foot to run down their game. The lion and leopard are only capable of extraordinary speed for a short space; and if they fail to seize their prey at the first spring, or after a few ardent and amazing bounds, they naturally abandon the pursuit from the consciousness of being unequal to continue it successfully. The lion springs from nine to twelve yards at a single leap, and for a brief space can repeat these bounds with such activity and speed, as to outstrip the swiftest horse in a short chace; but he cannot hold out at this rate in a long pursuit, and seldom attempts it. The Monarch of the Forest is, in fact, merely a gigantic cat, and he must live by using the arts of a cat. He would have but a poor chance with the antelopes, were he always magnanimously to begin a-roaring whenever a herd approached his lair. He knows his business better, and generally couches among the rank grass or reeds that grow around the pools and fountains, or in the narrow ravines through which the larger game descend to drink at the rivers;—and in such places one may most commonly find the horns and bones of the animals which have been thus surprised and devoured by him.

Even in such places, it is said, he will generally retreat before the awe-inspiring presence of Man—but not precipitately, nor without first calmly surveying his demeanour and apparently measuring his prowess. He appears to have the impression, that man is not his natural prey; and though he does not always give place to him, he will yet in almost every case abstain from attacking him, if he observes in his deportment neither terror nor hostility. But this instinctive deference is not to be counted upon under other circumstances, nor even under such as now described, with entire security. If he is hungry, or angry,—or if he be watching the game he has killed, or is otherwise perturbed by rage or jealousy,—it is no jest to encounter him. If he assumes a hostile aspect, the traveller must elevate his gun and take aim at the animal's forehead, before he comes close up and couches to take his spring; for in that position, though he may possibly give way to firmness and self-possession, he will tolerate no

* Sparrman relates the following, among other instances of the lion's strength:—"A lion was once seen at the Cape to take a heifer in his mouth; and though the legs of the latter dragged on the ground, yet he seemed to carry her off with the same ease as a cat does a rat. He likewise leaped over a broad dike with her, without the least difficulty."

offensive movement, and will anticipate by an instant and overwhelming bound, any attempt then to take aim at him. These observations are advanced not in the confidence of my own slight experience, but upon the uniform testimony of many of the back-country Boors and Hottentots with whom I have often conversed on such subjects, to dissipate the ennui of a dreary journey, or an evening *outspann* in the interior.

My friend, Diederik Muller, one of the most intrepid and successful lion-hunters in South Africa, mentioned to me the following incident, in illustration of the foregoing remarks.—He had been out alone hunting in the wilds, when he came suddenly upon a lion, which, instead of giving way, seemed disposed, from the angry attitude he assumed, to dispute with him the dominion of the desert. Diederik instantly alighted, and confident of his unerring aim, levelled his mighty *roer* at the forehead of the lion, who was couched in the act to spring, within fifteen paces of him: but at the moment the hunter fired, his horse, whose bridle was round his arm, started back, and caused him to miss. The lion bounded forward—but stopped within a few paces, confronting Diederik,—who stood defenceless, his gun discharged, and his horse running off. The man and the beast stood looking each other in the face, for a short space. At length the lion moved backward, as if to go away. Diederik began to load his gun: the lion looked over his shoulder, growled, and returned. Diederik stood still. The lion again moved cautiously off; and the boor proceeded to load, and ram down his bullet. The lion again looked back and growled angrily: and this occurred repeatedly until the animal had got off to some distance,—when he took fairly to his heels, and bounded away.

This was not the only nor the most dangerous adventure of Diederik Muller with the monarch of the wilderness. On another occasion, a lion came so suddenly upon him, that before he could take aim, the animal made his formidable spring, and alighted so near the hunter, that he had just space to thrust the muzzle of his gun into his open jaws and shoot him through the head.

Diederik and his brother Christian generally hunt in company; and have (between them) killed upwards of thirty lions. They have not achieved this, however, without many hair-breadth escapes, and have more than once saved each other's lives. On one of these occasions, a lion sprang suddenly upon Diederik, from behind a stone,—bore man and horse to the ground, and was proceeding to finish his career, when Christian galloped up and shot the savage through the heart. In this encounter Diederik was so roughly handled, that he lost his hearing in one ear,—the lion having dug his talons deeply into it.*

The Bechuana Chief, old Teysho, conversing with me while in Cape Town about the wild animals of Africa, made some remarks on the lion which perfectly correspond with the accounts I have obtained from the Boors and Hottentots.—The lion, he said, very seldom attacks man if unprovoked; but he will frequently approach within a few paces and survey him steadily; and sometimes he will attempt to get behind him, as if he could not stand his

* This is the same adventurous individual who is mentioned at page 213, as about to set out with Mr. Rennie (his *fides Achates*) on an expedition to Delagoa Bay. When Mr. Pringle left the eastern frontier in 1825, Diederik Muller went out and shot a lion, and sent him the skin and skull as a parting present.

look, but was yet desirous of springing upon him unawares. If a person in such circumstances attempts either to fight or fly, he incurs the most imminent peril; but if he has sufficient presence of mind coolly to confront him, the animal will in almost every instance, after a little space, retire. But, he added, when a lion has once conquered man, he becomes tenfold more fierce and villanous than he was before, and will even come into the kraals in search of him, in preference to other prey. This epicure partiality to human flesh in these too-knowing lions, does not, in Teysho's opinion, spring either from necessity or appetite, so much as from the "native wickedness of their hearts!"

The overmastering effect of the human eye upon the lion has been frequently mentioned, though much doubted by travellers. But from my own inquiries among lion-hunters, I am perfectly satisfied of the fact: and an anecdote which was related to me a few days ago by Major Macintosh, (late of the East India Company's Service,) proves that this fascinating effect is not confined exclusively to the lion. An officer in India, (whose name I have forgotten, but who was well known to my informant,) having chanced to ramble into a jungle adjoining the British encampment, suddenly encountered a royal tiger. The rencounter appeared equally unexpected on both sides, and both parties made a dead halt—earnestly gazing on each other. The gentleman had no fire-arms, and was aware that a sword would be no effective defence in a struggle for life with such an antagonist. But he had heard, that even the Bengal tiger might be sometimes checked by looking him firmly in the face. He did so. In a few minutes the tiger, which appeared preparing to take his fatal spring, grew disturbed—slunk aside—and attempted to creep round upon him behind. The officer turned constantly upon the tiger,—which still continued to shrink from his glance;—but darting into the thicket and again issuing forth at a different quarter, it persevered for above an hour in this attempt to catch him by surprise; till at last it fairly yielded the contest, and left the gentleman to pursue his *pleasure walk*. The direction he now took, as may be easily believed, was straight to the tents at double-quick time.

Poor Gert Schepers, a Vee-Boor of the Cradock District, was less fortunate in an encounter with a South African lion. Gert was out hunting in company with a neighbour,—whose name, as he is yet alive, and has perhaps been sufficiently punished, I shall not make more notorious. Coming to a fountain, surrounded, as is common, with tall reeds and rushes, Gert handed his gun to his comrade, and alighted to search for water. But he no sooner approached the fountain, than an enormous lion started up close at his side, and seized him by the left arm. The man, though taken by surprise, stood stock still without struggling, aware that the least attempt to escape would ensure his instant destruction. The animal also remained motionless, holding fast the boor's arm in his fangs, but without biting it severely,—and shutting his eyes at the same time, as if he could not withstand the countenance of his victim. As they stood in this position, Gert, collecting his presence of mind, began to beckon to his comrade to advance and shoot the lion in the forehead. This might have been easily effected, as the animal not only continued still with closed eyes, but Gert's body concealed from his notice any object advancing in front of him. But the fellow was a vile poltroon, and in place of complying with his friend's directions or making any other attempt to save him, he began cautiously to retreat to

the top of a neighbouring rock. Gert continued earnestly to beckon for assistance for a long time, the lion continuing perfectly quiet:—and the lion-hunters affirm, that if he had but persevered a little longer, the animal would have at length relaxed his hold, and left him uninjured. Such cases at least, they maintain, have occasionally occurred. But Gert, indignant at the pusillanimity of his comrade, and losing patience with the lion, at last drew his knife, (a weapon which every back-country colonist wears sheathed at his side,) and with the utmost force of his right arm, plunged it into the animal's breast. The thrust was a deadly one, for Gert was a bold and powerful man; but it did not prove effectual in time to save his own life,—for the enraged savage, striving to grapple with him, and held at arms-length by the utmost efforts of Gert's strength and desperation, so dreadfully lacerated the breast and arms of the unfortunate man with his talons, that his bare bones were laid open. The lion fell at last from loss of blood, and Gert fell along with him. The cowardly companion who had witnessed this fearful struggle from the rock, now, however, took courage to advance, and succeeded in carrying his mangled friend to the nearest house,—where such surgical aid as the neighbours could give was immediately, but vainly applied. Poor Gert expired on the third day after of a locked jaw. The particulars of this story were related to me by my late neighbour, old Wentzel Koetzer, of the Tarka, and by other respectable farmers in that vicinity, to whom both Schepers and his friend were well known.

The circumstances of an occurrence, which was related to me in the Landdrost's house, at Beaufort in the Nieuwveld, are very similar to the preceding, though not equally tragical. A boor of that district, of the name of De Clercq, one day riding over his farm, had alighted in a difficult pass, and was leading his horse through the long grass, when a lion suddenly rose up before him at a few yards distance. He had in his hand only a light fowling-piece, loaded with slugs; and hoping that the beast would give way, he stood still and confronted him, (the plan universally recommended in such emergencies;) but the lion on the contrary advancing and crouching to spring, he found himself under the necessity of firing. He took a hurried aim at the forehead, but the slugs lodged in the breast, and did not prove instantly mortal. The furious animal sprang forward, and seizing De Clercq on either side with his talons, bit at the same time his arm almost in two, as he mechanically thrust it forward to save his face. In this position he held him a few seconds, till his strength failing from loss of blood, the lion tumbled over, dragging the boor along with him in a dying embrace. De Clercq, however, escaped without any fatal injury, and had recovered, and visited Beaufort a few days before I was there, in 1822.

The hero of the following story is a Hottentot of the Agter Sneeuwberg. I have forgotten his name, but he was alive two years ago, when the story was related to me at Cradock, in that neighbourhood. This man was out hunting, and perceiving an antelope feeding among some bushes, he approached in a creeping posture, and had rested his gun over an ant-hill to take a steady aim, when, observing that the creature's attention was suddenly and peculiarly excited by some object near him, he looked up and perceived with horror that an enormous lion was at that instant creeping forward and ready to spring upon himself. Before he could change his posture, and direct his aim upon this antagonist, the savage beast bounded forward, seized

him with his talons, and crushed his left hand, as he endeavoured to guard him off with it, between his monstrous jaws. In this extremity the Hottentot had the presence of mind to turn the muzzle of the gun, which he still held in his right hand, into the lion's mouth, and then drawing the trigger, shot him dead through the brain. He lost his hand, but happily escaped without farther injury.

The following anecdote was told me by Lucas van Vuuren, a Vee-Boor, residing on the late Colonel Graham's farm of Lyndoch, and for two years my next neighbour at the Bavian's River. It shows that even our Colonial lions, when pressed for a breakfast, will sometimes forget their usual respect for "Christian-men," and break through their general rule of "let-a-be for let-a-be." Lucas was riding across the open plains, near the Little Fish River, one morning about daybreak, and, observing a lion at a distance, he endeavoured to avoid him by making a wide circuit. There were thousands of springboks scattered over the extensive flats; but the lion, from the open nature of the country, had probably been unsuccessful in hunting. Lucas soon perceived at least that he was not disposed to let *him* pass without farther parlance, and that he was rapidly approaching to the encounter; and being without his *roer*, and otherwise little inclined to any closer acquaintance, he turned off at right angles—laid the sjambok freely to his horse's flank—and galloped for life. But it was too late. The horse was fagged and bore a heavy man on his back—the lion was fresh and furious with hunger, and came down upon him like a thunder-bolt. In a few seconds he overtook, and springing up behind Lucas, brought horse and man in an instant to the ground. Luckily the poor boor was unhurt, and the lion was too eager in worrying the horse, to pay any immediate attention to the rider. Hardly knowing himself how he escaped, he contrived to scramble out of the fray, and made a clean pair of heels of it till he reached the nearest house. Lucas, when he gave me the details of this adventure, made no observations on it as being any way remarkable, except in the circumstance of the lion's audacity in pursuing a "Christian-man," without provocation, in open day. But what chiefly vexed him in the affair was the loss of the *saddle*. He returned next day with a party of friends to search for it and take vengeance on his feline foe: but both the lion and saddle had disappeared, and nothing could be found but the horse's clean picked bones. Lucas said he could excuse the *schelm* for killing the horse, as he had allowed himself to get away, but the felonious abstraction of the saddle, (for which, as Lucas gravely observed, he could have no possible use,) raised his spleen mightily, and called down a shower of curses whenever he told the story of this hair-breadth escape.*

* That the lion sometimes forgets his usual respect for "Christen-Mensch," will farther appear from the following instances:—

Once when Captain Stockenstrom was out on an expedition beyond the boundaries of the Colony, with a large party of boors, and twenty-seven waggons, they saw no less than seventeen lions in one evening; and in the ensuing night, while travelling across the plains, the whole party were thrown into the greatest confusion by the tremendous roar of a lion in the midst of them. In an instant all the oxen in the waggons started off in terror,—causing dreadful consternation and disaster. Some of the waggons were overturned, and the persons in them severely hurt; and several of the poor Hottentots who were leading the teams of oxen, were run down and killed. With great difficulty the waggons were collected, and the oxen unyoked and tied to the

Amongst other peculiarities ascribed to the lion, is his supposed propensity to prey on black men in preference to white, when he has the choice; or, as the Cape boors explain it, his discretion in refraining from the flesh of "*Christen-mensch*," when "*Hottentot volk*" are to be come at. The fact of this preference, so strongly alleged, need not be disputed; but I am inclined to account for it on somewhat different grounds from those usually assigned. The lion, like most other beasts of prey, is directed to his game by the scent as well as by the eye. Now the *odour* of the woolly-haired races of men, and especially of the Hottentot in his wild or semi-barbarous state, "unkempt, unwashed, unshaven," is peculiarly strong,—as every one, who has sat behind a Hottentot waggon-driver, with the breeze in his nostrils, knows right well. The lion, prowling round after night-fall in search of a supper, is naturally allured by the pungent effluvia, steaming for miles down the wind—equally attractive to him as the scent of a savoury beef-steak to a hungry traveller. He cautiously approaches—finds the devoted wretch fast asleep under a bush—and feels it impossible to resist keen appetite and convenient opportunity. He seizes on the strong-scented Hottentot, while the less tempting boor is left unnoticed, perhaps reclined at a little distance, with his feet to the fire, or within or under his waggon. The following anecdotes, illustrative of these remarks, were told me by old Jacob Marè, (my fellow traveller across the Great Karroo in 1822,) who knew the parties personally.

A farmer of the name of Van der Merwe had outspanned his waggon in the wilderness, and laid himself down to repose by the side of it. His two Hottentot servants, a man and his wife, had disposed themselves on their ready couch of sand, at the other side. At midnight, when all were fast asleep, a lion came quietly up and carried off the poor woman in his mouth. Her master and her husband, startled by her fearful shrieks, sprang to their guns, —but without avail. Favoured by the darkness, the monster had conveyed, in a few minutes, his unfortunate victim far into the thickets, beyond the possibility of rescue.

A Hottentot at Jackall's Fountain, on the skirts of the Great Karroo, had a narrow though ludicrous escape on a similar occasion. He was sleeping a few yards from his master, in the usual mode of his nation, wrapped up in his sheep-skin *carosse*, with his face to the ground. A lion came softly up, and seizing him by the thick folds of his greasy mantle, began to trot away with him, counting securely no doubt on a savoury and satisfactory meal. But the Hottentot, on awaking, being quite unhurt, though sufficiently astonished, contrived somehow to

wheels, and every precaution taken to secure them that circumstances admitted of. Yet before morning the lions again attacked them, and carried off some of the oxen who were thus fastened.

Mr. Freyer, an Englishman settled at the Hantam, mentioned to me, that once when he was travelling with a party through some part of the Bushman country with waggons, they were attacked, while outspanned, by several lions; and though the Hottentots fired at the ravenous beasts, and also threw pieces of burning wood at them, one of them audaciously tore away a horse which was tied to a waggon-wheel, and afterwards a second,—which he carried off with the greatest apparent ease to his companions at a little distance.

G. T.

wriggle himself out of his wrapper, and scrambled off, while the disappointed lion walked simply away with the empty integument.*

Numerous stories of a similar description are related by the back-country farmers, and many of them sufficiently well authenticated to prove the general fact of the lion's curious taste for "people of colour;" but I suspect there is also some degree of exaggeration about the matter, which will not fail to be exposed whenever we get the lion's, or at least the Hottentot's "own account" of these transactions.

The following amusing story, which was related to me by some respectable farmers of the Tarka, who were present on the occasion, would make a good figure in "The Lion's History of the Man." A party of boors went out to hunt a lion which had carried off several cattle from the neighbourhood. They discovered him in a thicket, or jungle, such as abound in that part of the Colony, and sent in a numerous pack of fierce hounds to drive him out. The lion kept his den and his temper for a long time—only striking down the dogs with his mighty paw, or snapping off a head or leg occasionally, when the brawling rabble came within his reach. But the hunters, continuing in the mean while to pepper the bush at random with slugs and bullets, at length wounded him slightly. Then rose the royal beast in wrath—and with a dreadful roar burst forth upon his foes. Regardless of a shower of balls, he bounded forward, and in an instant turned the chase upon them. All took to their horses or their heels—it was "devil take the hindmost!" One huge fellow, of greater size than alacrity, whom we shall call *Hugo Zwaar-van-heupen* (or Hercules Heavy-stern), not having time to mount his horse, was left in the rear, and speedily run down by the rampant *Leeuw*. Hugo fell—not as Lochiel, "with his back to the field, and his face to the foe,"—but the reverse way; and he had the prudence to lie flat and quiet as a log. The victorious *Leeuw* snuffed at him, scratched him with his paw, and then magnanimously bestriding him, sat quietly down upon his body. His routed companions, collecting in a band, took courage at length to face about; and, seeing the posture of affairs, imagined their comrade was killed, and began to concert measures for revenging him. After a short pause, however, the lion resigned of his own accord his seat of triumph, relieved his panting captive, and retreated towards the mountains. The party, on coming up, found their friend shaking his ears, unharmed from the war—except what he had suffered from a very ungentlemanly piece of conduct in the lion, who it seems had actually treated his prostrate foe in the same ignominious sort as Gulliver did the palace of

* An incident much resembling this was witnessed by a gentleman of my own acquaintance. Travelling through a jungle on the borders of the Colony, a lion suddenly sprang upon a Hottentot of his party, and brought man and horse with a shock to the ground. At the same moment, placing one paw upon the head of the horse, and another on that of the Hottentot, he looked round upon the rest of the party, (who had recoiled with terror,) in an attitude of pride and defiance. In the mean while the Hottentot, who had been merely stunned, but not hurt, recovering his presence of mind, contrived to slip his head gently out of his old hat, and crawled away to his companions, unmolested by the lion, who, contented with the prey in his possession, remained master of the field. G. T.

Lilliput on a certain occasion, and for which he was afterwards justly impeached of high treason. This story continues to be repeated as one of the standing jokes of the Tarka.*

The following occurrence is another evidence of the lion's general forbearance towards mankind, so long as other prey can be got. Three butchers' servants were crossing the Great Karroo; and having halted near a fountain with the intention of resting for the night, two of them went to collect firewood, the other remaining to knee-halter the horses, as is usual, to prevent them from straying. Whilst he was thus occupied, three lions suddenly made their appearance, and selecting each a horse, brought down in an instant the two that were haltered; the third horse, breaking loose from a bush to which he was tied, galloped off, with the third lion in chase of him. Of the two successful lions, one carried off his prey into the thicket, while the other, lying down beside his, watched the man, who, half stupified by the havoc, now began to think of making his retreat. But as soon as he moved, the lion began to growl and bristle up in a threatening attitude; lying quietly down again, however, when he stood still. After several timid attempts, thus checked by his watchful adversary, he judged it advisable to remain stationary till his comrades returned. They did so soon after, and the lion, on seeing this reinforcement, resigned his prey, and hastily retired.

I shall conclude these notices of this animal, (which, whether of any value or not, are at least sufficiently well authenticated,) with some account of a Lion Hunt which I witnessed myself in April 1822. I was then residing on my farm or location at Bavian's River, in the neighbourhood of which numerous herds of large game, and consequently beasts of prey, are abundant. One night a lion, who had previously purloined a few sheep out of the kraal, came down and killed my riding horse, about a hundred yards from the door of my cabin. Knowing that the lion, when he does not carry off his prey, usually conceals himself in the vicinity, and is moreover very apt to be dangerous by prowling about the place in search of more game, I resolved to have him destroyed or dislodged without delay. I therefore sent a messenger round the location to invite all who were willing to assist in the *foray*, to repair to the place of rendezvous as speedily as possible. In an hour every man of the party (with the exception of two pluckless fellows who were kept at home by the women) appeared ready mounted and armed. We were also reinforced by about a dozen of the "Bastaard Hottentots" who resided at that time upon our territory as tenants or herdsmen,—an active and enterprising,

* The Boor Vlok, whom I have mentioned at page 219, told me that he had made two very narrow escapes from the jaws of the lion. One of these occurred when he was out with a party collected to destroy a lion which had committed great ravages in the vicinity. The lion, after being fired on, turned upon the hunters,—and Vlok (according to his *own* account) alone standing firm, was pounced upon by him, and so severely mangled in the left arm and side, that he did not recover until after long doctoring and attending the hot-baths at Oliphant's River. The lion might easily have killed him, he said, as his comrades sneaked off,—but after worrying him for a few minutes, he left him of his own accord.

On another occasion, he says, a lion sprang upon him unexpectedly, from behind a small height, and bearing him and horse to the ground, killed the horse as easily as a cat would a mouse; but Vlok being partly under the horse, escaped with a severe bruising,—for the victor, after a brief space, (having perhaps already dined) walked off, without taking farther notice of the rider. G. T.

though rather an unsteady race of men. Our friends, the Tarka boors, many of whom are excellent lion-hunters, were all too far distant to assist us—our nearest *neighbours* residing at least twenty miles from the location. We were, therefore, on account of our own inexperience, obliged to make our Hottentots the leaders of the chase.

The first point was to track the lion to his covert. This was effected by a few of the Hottentots on foot: commencing from the spot where the horse was killed, they followed the *spoor* through grass and gravel and brushwood, with astonishing ease and dexterity, where an inexperienced eye could discern neither footprint nor mark of any kind,—until at length, we fairly tracked him into a large *bosch*, or straggling thicket of brushwood and evergreens, about a mile distant.

The next object was to drive him out of this retreat, in order to attack him in a close phalanx, and with more safety and effect. The approved mode in such cases is to torment him with dogs till he abandons his covert, and stands at bay in the open plain. The whole band of hunters then march forward together, and fire deliberately one by one. If he does not speedily fall, but grows angry and turns upon his enemies, they must then stand close in a circle, and turn their horses rear-outward; some holding them fast by the bridles, while the others kneel to take a steady aim at the lion as he approaches, sometimes up to the very horses' heels,—couching every now and then, as if to measure the distance and the strength of his enemies. This is the moment to shoot him fairly in the forehead, or some other mortal part. If they continue to wound him ineffectually till he waxes furious and desperate; or if the horses, startled by his terrific roar, grow frantic with terror, and burst loose, the business becomes rather serious, and may end in mischief—especially if all the party are not men of courage, coolness, and experience. The frontier boors are, however, generally such excellent marksmen, and withal so cool and deliberate, that they seldom fail to shoot him dead as soon as they get within a fair distance.

In the present instance, we did not manage matters quite so scientifically. The Bastaards, after recounting to us all these and other sage laws of lion-hunting, were themselves the first to depart from them. Finding that with the few indifferent hounds we had made little impression on the enemy, they divided themselves into two or three parties, and rode round the jungle, firing into the spot where the dogs were barking round him,—but without effect. At length, after some hours spent in thus beating about the bush, the Scottish blood of some of my countrymen began to get impatient, and three of them announced their determination to march in and beard the lion in his den, provided three of the Bastaards (who were superior marksmen) would support them, and follow up their fire, should the enemy venture to give battle. Accordingly in they went, (in spite of the warnings of some more prudent men,) to within fifteen or twenty paces of the spot where the animal lay concealed. He was couched among the roots of a large evergreen bush, with a small space of open ground on one side of it; and they fancied, on approaching, that they saw him distinctly, lying glaring at them from under the foliage. Charging the Bastaards to stand firm and level fair should *they* miss, the Scottish champions let fly together, and struck—not the lion, as it afterwards proved, but a great block of red stone—beyond which he was actually lying. Whether any of the shot

grazed him is uncertain, but, with no other warning than a furious growl, forth he bolted from the bush. The rascally Bastaards, in place of now pouring in their volley upon him, instantly turned, and fled helter-skelter, leaving him to do his pleasure upon the defenceless Scots,—who, with empty guns, were tumbling over each other in their hurry to escape the clutch of the rampant savage. In a twinkling he was upon them—and with one stroke of his paw dashed the nearest to the ground. The scene was terrific! There stood the lion with his foot upon his prostrate foe, looking round in conscious power and pride upon the bands of his assailants,—and with a port the most noble and imposing that can be conceived. It was the most magnificent thing I ever witnessed. The danger of our friends however rendered it at the moment too terrible to enjoy either the grand or the ludicrous part of the picture. We expected every instant to see one or more of them torn in pieces,—nor, though the rest of the party were standing within fifty paces with their guns cocked and levelled, durst we fire for their assistance. One was lying under the lion's feet, and the others scrambling towards us in such a way as to intercept our aim upon him. All this passed far more rapidly than I have described it. But luckily the lion, after steadily surveying us for a few seconds, seemed willing to be quits on fair terms; and with a fortunate forbearance, (for which he met but an ungrateful recompense,) turned calmly away, and driving the snarling dogs like rats from among his heels, bounded over the adjoining thicket like a cat over a footstool, clearing brakes and bushes twelve or fifteen feet high as readily as if they had been tufts of grass,—and, abandoning the jungle, retreated towards the mountains.

After ascertaining the state of our rescued comrade, (who fortunately had sustained no other injury than a slight scratch on the back, and a severe bruise in the ribs, from the force with which the animal had dashed him to the ground,) we renewed the chase with Hottentots and hounds in full cry. In a short time we again came up with the enemy, and found him standing at bay under an old mimosa tree, by the side of a mountain-stream, which we had distinguished by the name of Douglas Water. The dogs were barking round, but afraid to approach him,—for he was now beginning to growl fiercely, and to brandish his tail in a manner that showed he was meditating mischief. The Hottentots, by taking a circuit between him and the mountain, crossed the stream and took a position on the top of a precipice overlooking the spot where he stood. Another party of us occupied a position on the other side of the glen; and, placing the poor fellow thus between two fires, which confused his attention and prevented his retreat, we kept battering away at him, without truce or mercy, till he fell, unable again to grapple with us, covered with wounds and glory.

He proved to be a full grown lion of the yellow variety, about five or six years of age. He measured nearly twelve feet from the nose to the tip of the tail. His fore leg just at the knee was so thick that I could not clasp it with both hands; and his neck, breast, and limbs appeared, when the skin was taken off, a complete congeries of sinews. His head, which seemed as large and heavy as that of an ordinary ox, I had boiled for the purpose of preserving the skull, and tasted the flesh from curiosity. It resembled very white coarse beef,—rather insipid, but without any disagreeable flavour.

Our neighbours, the Nimrods of the Tarka, disapproved highly of our method of attacking this lion in the bush, and said, it was a wonder he did not destroy a few of us. They were highly amused with the discomfiture of our three champions; and the story of "Jan Rennie en de Leeuw," still continues to be one of their constant jokes against the Scotchmen. This is all fair—and it forms a just counterpoise in favour of our good-humoured neighbours, when the Scottish farmers quiz them too unmercifully about their uncouth agriculture and antediluvian ploughs and harrows.

I imagine the reader has now heard quite enough of the lion, to judge of his character as a neighbour and acquaintance.

To the verses that follow it may be a sufficient introduction to mention, that I was informed by the Bechuana Chiefs, that the lion occasionally surprises the giraffe or camelopard in the manner here described; and that, owing to the amazing strength of that magnificent animal, he is sometimes carried away *fifteen* or *twenty* miles before it sinks under him. This fact, I believe, has been formerly mentioned by travellers, and has been ridiculed as absurd by European critics. But the soothfast evidence of my friend, old Teysho, the sagacious Vizier of Mateebé, Autocrat of the Matclhapees, Matclharoos, Myvees, Barolongs, and Briquas, is sufficient for me; and will doubtless be allowed its due weight, when the matter is again discussed by the Sçavans of Paris and Edinburgh.

THE LION AND THE CAMELOPARD.

Wouldst thou view the Lion's den?
Search afar from haunts of men—
Where the reed-encircled fountain
Oozes from the rocky mountain,
By its verdure far descried
'Mid the desert brown and wide.

Close beside the sedgy brim
Couchant lurks the Lion grim,
Waiting till the close of day
Brings again the destined prey.

Heedless—at the ambushed brink
The tall Giraffe stoops down to drink:
Upon him straight the savage springs
With cruel joy:—The Desert rings
With clanging sound of desperate strife—
For the prey is strong and strives for life,—
Plunging oft, with frantic bound,
To shake the tyrant to the ground;
Then bursts like whirlwind through the waste,
In hope to 'scape by headlong haste:
In vain!—the spoiler on his prize
Rides proudly—tearing as he flies.

For life—the victim's utmost speed
Is mustered in this hour of need—
For life—for life—his giant might
He strains, and pours his soul in flight;
And, mad with terror, thirst, and pain,
Spurns with wild hoof the thundering plain.

'Tis vain—the thirsty sands are drinking
His streaming blood—his strength is sinking—
The victor's fangs are in his veins—
His flanks are streaked with sanguine stains—
His panting breast in foam and gore
Is bathed:—he reels—his race is o'er!
He falls—and, with convulsive throe,
Resigns his throat to the raging foe;
Who revels amidst his dying moans:—
While, gathering round to pick his bones,
The vultures watch in gaunt array
Till the proud monarch quits his prey.

South Africa, 1824. T. P.

No. III.

VAN REENEN'S EXPEDITION TO HAMBONA.

The Grosvenor Indiaman was wrecked on the coast of Natal, on the 4th of August, 1782. Most of the numerous crew and passengers got safely on shore; but only a small party of them were able, after encountering extreme fatigue and privation, during a tedious journey along the seacoast, to reach the Dutch Colony,—of which the eastern boundary then extended only to the Camtoos River. These refugees having stated that many of their companions had been left alive among the natives, a party of boors were sent by the Dutch Government about two years afterwards, to endeavour to discover and bring them into the Colony; but this party returned after only penetrating to the River Somo, one of the branches of the Kei.

At the instance, I believe, of the English Government, a second expedition was set on foot by the Cape Authorities; and in August 1790, Mr. Jacob Van Reenen, an intelligent Cape farmer, with twelve of his countrymen, and accompanied by several waggons, undertook and accomplished this enterprise.

A written journal of his expedition was kept by Van Reenen, and afterwards given to Captain Riou, who published it in London, with a chart and a short preface, in 1792. The narrative is dated June 23, 1791.

As Captain Riou's publication is now out of print, a few extracts from the journal illustrative of what has been stated at page 198 respecting the white women, and people of mixed breed, found living among the Hambonas, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

"November 3.—Arrived on a height, whence we saw several villages of the Hambonas, a nation quite different from the Caffers; they are of a yellowish complexion, and have long coarse hair frizzed on their heads like a turban. We sent four of our men to the chief, whose name is Camboosa, with a present of beads, and a sheet of copper. Five of them came to us,

to whom we gave small presents of beads. They told us, that subject to them was a village of *bastaard** Christians, who were descended from people shipwrecked on that coast, and of which three old women were still living, whom Oemtonoue, the Hamboüa captain, had taken as his wives.

"4.—Rode to the before-mentioned village; where we found that the people were descended from whites, some too, from slaves of mixed colour, and natives of the East Indies. We also met with the three old women, who said they were sisters, and had, when children, been shipwrecked on this coast, but could not say of what nation they were, being too young to know at the time the accident happened. We offered to take them and their children back with us on our return; at which they seemed very much pleased.

"5.—We now travelled on several hours; in which distance we passed the Little Mogasie River, on the banks of which is situated the *Bastaard* village, where they have very extensive handsome gardens, planted with Caffer corn, maize, sugar-canes, plantains, potatoes, black beans, and many other things; they had also some cattle.

"6.—Proceeded seven hours, near to a very large river, called Sinwoewoe, or Zeekoe River, where we understood from the natives that there was still an Englishman remaining alive, of the crew of the unfortunate ship the Grosvenor.

"8.—We forded the river; when this so called Englishman came to us, and told us that he was a free man, and had sailed in an English ship from Malacca. He promised to conduct us to the place where the Grosvenor had been wrecked; adding, that there was nothing to be seen, excepting some cannon, iron ballast, and lead: he likewise said that all the crew of that unfortunate ship had perished; some by the hands of the natives, and the rest by hunger.

"The natives here brought to us some gold and silver, to exchange for red beads, and copper articles, of which they seemed excessively fond.

"10.—We concluded, as this so called Englishman, who was to conduct us to the spot where the wreck lay, did not make his appearance, that he was a runaway slave from the Cape: in which conjecture we were confirmed by one of our Bastaard Hottentots, called Moses, whom this man had asked who his master was; and being answered by the Hottentot, that Jacob Van Reenen was his master, he then asked if he was a son of old Jacob Van Reenen, or Cootje, as my father was commonly called; the Hottentot answered yes: he then told him he was well known at the Cape, and had a wife there and two children. The fear that we should lay hold of him and carry him with us, most probably prevented his ever returning to us again.†

* Notes by Captain Riou:—"The Dutch word *bastaard*, as it is here used, signifies a Mulatto, or person of mixed breed."

† There is very great reason to suppose that the attempts made by the shipwrecked crew to get to the Cape, may have been thwarted by the villany of the man mentioned in the narrative of the loss of the Grosvenor, by the name of Trout, who, when all things are considered, must be undoubtedly the same person, that in this journal is supposed to be a runaway slave from the Cape. His unwillingness to have any intercourse with Van Reenen's party, to whom he might have been highly useful, as he spoke Dutch, and by whom he certainly would have been amply rewarded for his services, points him out as a person very much to be suspected of having done what he was afraid of being punished for."

"We now came to a height that we could not pass without great danger and difficulty; and where we learned that the wreck was not far off. We therefore determined to halt, and to go on horseback to the spot, to see what could be discovered.

"17.—On this day, with some others of the party, I rode to the above-mentioned spot, but saw nothing but five cannons, and a great quantity of iron ballast. It was plainly perceived, on a spot of ground between two woods, that people had made fires and sheltered themselves; likewise, on a rising ground between the two woods, was a pit, where things had been buried and dug out again; this confirming to us what the runaway slave had told us, that every thing had been dug up and dispersed very far into the country. We also understood from the natives, that the greatest part of the goods had been conveyed to Rio de la Goa, to be there sold; which place, as well as we could learn, was from this spot a journey of four days, or of forty or fifty hours.

"The natives hereabouts expressed very great astonishment at our taking such great pains to come in search of the unfortunate crew. And the chiefs, and indeed the whole of them in general, promised, that if any similar disaster should ever happen in future, they would protect and take care of the crew that might come on shore, and conduct them to us, if they could only be assured of obtaining beads, copper, and iron, for so doing; which we promised.

"Nov. 26.—[On the return homewards.] "Arrived at the *Bastaard* Christian village. I would now have taken the three old women with us; but they mentioned their desire, before they could accomplish such a plan, of waiting till their harvest time, to gather in their crops; adding that, for this reason, they would at present rather remain with their children and grandchildren; after which, with their whole race, to the amount of four hundred, they would be happy to depart from their present settlement. I concluded, by promising that I would give a full account of them to the Government of the Cape, in order that they might be removed from their present situation. It is to be observed, that on our visit to these women, they appeared to be exceedingly agitated at seeing people of their own complexion and description.

"This expedition was planned by me, with the previous knowledge of the governor, Van de Graaff, in pursuance of whose command it met with the approbation of the landdrost of the district of Graaff Reinet. It was undertaken with the view of discovering if their still remained alive any of the English women, as had been reported, that were shipwrecked in the Grosvenor, on that part of the coast in the year 1782, that we might have relieved them from a miserable situation; which was the only motive for undertaking the journey. But to our sorrow, we could find no soul remaining; and we are fully persuaded that not one of the unfortunate crew is now alive. I was informed by a Malay or Boganese slave who spoke Dutch, and had some years before run away from the Cape, that two years ago the cook of that ship was alive, but that catching the smallpox, he then died.

(Signed) "JACOB VAN REENEN."

To the above extracts may be added, that Lieutenant Farewell's party have recently discovered the wreck of the Grosvenor near the Second Point Natal, much farther to the west-

ward than had been usually supposed. The remains of the wreck consist of the keel of the vessel, and her guns and iron ballast. The vessel appears to have been heaved by the force of the surf over a ledge of rocks. Whether there had been still any of the crew surviving in the country, and detained by the natives, at the time of Van Reenen's visit, is uncertain; but several of their descendants (mulattoes) have been discovered among the adjoining tribes, and one of them is now in the service of Lieut. Farewell.

No. IV.

WRECKS OF THE GRACE AND ARNISTON.

The circumstances which occasioned the loss of the Grace and her cargo were remarkable, and may not be unworthy of commemoration. The vessel was loaded with wool and oil. Part of the latter had unfortunately been stowed in the hold above the packs of wool, and having leaked considerably during the voyage, a fermentation took place, which began to indicate itself just as they came in sight of land off Cape Agulhas. A strong smell of burning had been previously perceived for several days, and at length smoke began to issue from the hold. They were at this time within an hour's sail of False Bay, for which, alarmed by the state of the cargo, they were anxiously standing in. The wind, however, suddenly veered about, and blew a gale from the north-west, right in their teeth. The smoke hourly increased, and destruction began to stare them in the face. They could not run the ship ashore to the westward of Cape Agulhas, nor attempt to land there with a boat, on account of the violent surf on the rocky coast. They could not beat into Simon's Bay, and the gale increased. There was no time for deliberation. Their only chance was to weather Cape Agulhas, and they bore away before the wind with all the sail they could carry. All the hatches were closed down, and covered with wet sails, and men were employed to throw water constantly upon them. To add to the horrors of their situation, night came on, and the heat increased so much that they could scarcely keep their station upon deck. The captain got out the long boat, and put the passengers and all the crew but two into it,—keeping it in tow, while he himself, with two sailors only, remained on board, one standing by the helm, while the others continued to throw water over the hatchways. In this manner they weathered Cape Agulhas about dawn of day, and were rounding into Struys' Bay, when the fire burst out upon them. The captain and his two assistants had just time to throw themselves into the boat, and cut the towing-rope, when the vessel was enveloped in one entire sheet of flame. They were now happily under the lee of the Cape, and partly sheltered from the gale, and succeeded in getting safe on shore.

The vessel bore away like a blazing comet, but soon went on shore a little to the eastward, when she was bilged, and burned down to the water's edge. About thirty packs of wool were washed on shore, but so much damaged by the oil and fire, as to be of very little value.

A few miles to the eastward of this spot the disastrous wreck of the Arniston transport occurred in 1815. This was a vessel of 1500 tons, belonging to Messrs. Borradailes, of London, and bound from Ceylon to England, having on board Lord Molesworth, with his family and suite, and a number of other passengers, consisting of military officers, ladies and children, and invalid soldiers from India. They had parted company with a fleet of Indiamen, under convoy of H. M. S. Africaine, and the Victor brig, on the 26th of May, owing to stress of weather; and on the 29th, land was discovered right ahead, the wind blowing from the S.S.E. very strong.

They endeavoured ineffectually to beat up against the wind, in order to weather the land, which they conceived to be that near Table Bay, till near noon on the 30th, when breakers were discovered on the lee bow. The rest of the catastrophe I shall copy verbatim from a paper taken from the depositions of the survivors:—

"When the breakers were seen we wore ship, and hauled to the wind on the other tack; stood on till two P. M., then wore and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, continuing on till near four o'clock, when breakers were seen, called Agulhas Reef, which we could not weather on either tack, being completely embayed. Clewed up the sails, and cut away three anchors. The two bower cables parted shortly after. Then Lieutenant Bruce, agent for transports, advised the Captain to cut away the sheet cable, and run the ship ashore, as the only chance of saving the people's lives. The cable was cut, and the ship put before the wind, and in about eight minutes after she struck forward, the ship heeling to windward. Cut away the guns in order to heel her the other way, which could not be effected, consequently, she soon began to break up. About eight o'clock the masts went, and the ship in a very short time was quite in pieces. Many people were drowned below, in consequence of her heeling to windward; and others clung to the wreck, endeavouring to reach the shore, which was about a mile and a half distant. Out of the whole crew, consisting of near 350 persons, only six men (sailors) reached the shore with great difficulty upon planks, being much bruised by the wreck and surf, which was very high. At daylight the next morning, the stern port of the ship was the only part to be seen. The beach was covered with wreck, stores, and a number of dead bodies, among which, were those of Lord and Lady Molesworth, the Agent, Captain, and some children. These were buried by us, the six survivors.

"On the next day, the 1st of June, considering ourselves to be to the westward of Cape Point, it was agreed to coast the beach to the eastward, which we continued to do for four days and a half, subsisting on shell-fish from off the rocks; but fearing we had taken a wrong direction, it was agreed to return to the wreck, and we accomplished it in three days and a half. Here we remained six days, subsisting chiefly on a cask of oatmeal that had drifted on shore, and which, being damaged, we dried in the sun, and experienced great relief from it. The pinnace had been thrown ashore bilged, which we proposed to repair in the best manner circumstances would allow, and endeavour to coast along shore. At that time, (the 14th of June,) being at work on the boat, we were fortunately discovered by a farmer's son, (Jan Zwartz,) whowas out shooting, and who humanely carried us to his father's house, where we

remained, with every comfort he could afford us, for a week, and then set off for Cape Town where we arrived on Thursday evening, the 26th of June.

" Before we left the country, we were informed that 331 bodies, thrown on shore, had been interred near the beach.

(Signed) " CHARLES STEWART SCOTT, Carpenter's Mate."

Mr. Theunissen, who visited this wreck as soon as it was discovered by the farmers, informed me, that he counted about 300 dead bodies on the beach; and that the scene was truly deplorable and affecting. Mothers with their children, and husbands with their wives locked in their arms, were found lying as they were washed up by the sea. The whole shore, for miles, was strewed with the wreck. I saw, myself, oak rafters in many of the houses in the vicinity that had been taken from the beams of the Arniston. G. T.

No. V.

SOME ACCOUNT OF MR. FAREWELL'S SETTLEMENT AT PORT NATAL, AND OF A VISIT TO CHAKA, KING OF THE ZOOLAS, &c.

THE following sketch, drawn up by Captain King of the *Mary*, (a trading vessel lately wrecked on entering the harbour at Port Natal,) furnishes some interesting details respecting Mr. Farewell's infant settlement, the character and views of the tyrant Chaka, the manners and condition of the Zoola people, and the appearance of their country. It forms, therefore, a suitable appendage to my remarks on this subject at page 200, and an appropriate counterpart to Mr. Brownlee's account of the Amakosæ Caffers. Captain King has, I believe, since this was written, returned from the Cape to Port Natal, with a vessel and stores to relieve his own men, and assist his enterprising friend Mr. Farewell. G. T.

In the latter part of 1823, Lieutenant Farewell and Mr. A. Thomson accompanied me in the *Salisbury*, on a voyage to the East coast of Africa. Having arrived in the neighbourhood where we intended to commence trading, we attempted at several parts, but it appeared impossible to land. The boats were then sent on shore at St. Lucie, on the coast of Fumos. Mr. Farewell's upset, but, although considerably bruised, he providentially escaped being drowned. Several days after, Mr. Thomson met with a similar accident, his boat being overwhelmed when nearly a mile from the beach; they all gained the shore by swimming, except three poor fellows, who perished in the attempt. We now determined on abandoning this spot, our views being chiefly directed to another quarter. Several weeks having elapsed, we ran into Port Natal, but the voyage proving altogether unsuccessful, we returned to the Cape of Good Hope. The *Salisbury*, and the *Julia*, our tender, were the first vessels that had entered that port during the life-time of the oldest inhabitants.

Mr. Farewell again, in April 1825, joined by two others, with a party of about twenty-five people, fitted out another expedition to this port. However, these new adventurers not finding trade so brisk as they anticipated, took the earliest opportunity of returning, and left Mr. Farewell to carry his projects into effect alone. He was joined by Mr. Fynn, and afterwards by three white people and ten Hottentots; from which time, till the arrival of the *Mary*, they had suffered intensely. Mr. Fynn has shared largely in these sufferings: he has undauntedly penetrated forests, passed through savage nations, and has narrowly escaped from several attempts that have been made on his life.

Chaka, King of the Zoolas, has granted to Mr. Farewell about thirty-five miles of coast, ncluding Port Natal, and about one hundred miles of inland country, for some remuneration in merchandise; and assures the white people of his protection. He has also allowed Mr. Fynn about 450 people to cultivate the land, and to do whatever he may require of them. Mr. Farewell's fort and house are by this time finished. Within the fort he keeps his cattle, of which he has a good stock. It is of a triangular form,—at each angle one gun is to be placed. The house is built of wood, about sixty feet by twenty, and has six tolerably good rooms. This settlement is situated on the N.W. side of the harbour, and the king has named it after its founder. Mr. Farewell's party are much respected by Chaka, and, in fact, by the whole nation.

The settlement of the shipwrecked crew of the *Mary* is on the S.E. part, the most eligible spot we could find for building; it consists of five huts, built in the native style, and one storehouse. A vessel, when I left, was nearly two-thirds finished, built of excellent wood; we used no part of the wreck, except the bolts, &c.

Much praise is due to Mr. Hutton, and also to that part of the crew which remained, for their steadiness and obedience.

The object of my leaving Natal was for the express purpose of procuring supplies, at the request of Mr. Farewell, and of my people.

Port Natal is easy of access for vessels drawing not more than eight feet of water, and on the last of the flood tide. It has on its bar eleven feet at high-water spring-tides: at times it exceeds that depth.

This harbour is perfectly sheltered from all winds, and is sufficiently large to contain at least thirty sail. The cape forms a spacious bay, where ships may ride in safety, with S.W. and Westerly winds, in from nine to eleven fathoms, sandy bottom: the best anchorage is when the cape bears S. by W. half W. or S.S.W. at the distance of a mile and a half.

Having collected from the *Mary* every thing we could see a possibility of saving, and made arrangements for building a small vessel, (which appeared an arduous undertaking, on account of our very limited means, and the principal part of the carpenter's tools being lost,) I accompanied Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, and several seamen, with about forty natives, on a journey to King Chaka, of the Zoola nation. On the eighth day, after having travelled about 135 miles through a most picturesque country, and crossed several rivers, we arrived at the summit of a mountain, from which the view was particularly grand and imposing. We could distinguish the king's residence, and numerous other kraals, on an extensive plain, encompassed by a chain of hills. Shortly afterwards, we came to a brook, where we refreshed, and put ourselves

in proper apparel to meet the king. At about eight at night we arrived at the entrance of his kraal, and were soon admitted. Afterwards we were taken to his private residence, and gave the customary salute of the nation, which not being answered, was repeated. A domestic now informed us, that the king was holding an en-daba (a council) with his warriors; we then proceeded in order, and soon discovered his Majesty centred among his subjects, and surrounded by large fires. We stood for a few minutes, while the chief who accompanied us, addressed himself to the king, relative to our mission; after which we were desired to advance, presented our presents, and seated ourselves on the ground, at about six yards, distance from him. During this interview his discourse was principally on war, owing to his enemies being at hand. However, he soon permitted us to retire to the huts which had been prepared for us. He soon afterwards dismissed his people, and retired to his private kraal; we then received a message, requesting we would attend there. Here our reception was very different from the former; he now cast off his stern look, became good-humoured, and conversed through our interpreters on various subjects. A large basket of boiled beef, and several earthen pots of milk, were ordered to be placed before us, of which we ate heartily. After this entertainment we expressed a wish to retire, which he very readily assented to, on account of our being much fatigued. The following day we again waited upon him, and found him seated upon his mat, haranguing his people. We shortly withdrew, and rambled about the greater part of this day; and in the evening were highly entertained by his warriors singing war and other songs. At the King's request, we fired a train of powder, to show its effects; and after several other entertainments, he retired, expressing himself much pleased.

The following morning proved excessively hot, so much so that it was scarcely possible to stir about; we therefore kept within our hut. The King, however, feeling no inconvenience from it, sent for our sailors, and proposed their going with him, and a number of his people, to hunt the elephant. These men being aware of their inability, and having only lead balls, prudently declined, and said they could not go without consulting us. The king desired the interpreter to say they were afraid: this touched their pride; and to convince him of the contrary, they took up their muskets, and followed him. Half an hour or more had elapsed before Mr. Farewell and myself were made acquainted with this proceeding. Feeling satisfied that it was done only to convince his nation of the insufficiency of our arms (of which we were equally aware) to destroy such animals, we immediately went in pursuit of them; and soon fell in with the king, seated under a large tree, surrounded by his warriors, from which he had a complete view of the valley out of which they intended to start the elephant: we took our station about 200 yards from him, under a smaller tree, waiting impatiently, yet dreading the result. Two hours had nearly elapsed, when a messenger presented to the king the tail of an elephant, at which they all appeared greatly surprised; he was desired to bring it to us, and say the white people had killed the animal. As may be supposed, we could scarcely credit the fact, but hastened towards the forest to join our people, and met them almost exhausted; we, notwithstanding, had the satisfaction of congratulating each other upon what appeared to us almost a miracle. It appeared that the natives drove the elephant from the forest to a plain, where the sailors placed themselves directly before the animal: the first shot entered

under the ear, when it became furious: the other lodged near the fore shoulder, after which it fell, and soon expired. Had this affair turned out differently, we should, in all probability, have been held in a contemptible light by this nation, and awkward consequences might have resulted to the settlement.

In the evening, at the request of the king, we joined in their amusements, and could not ourselves possibly avoid singing, and commenced with 'God Save the King:' on our explaining its literal meaning, Chaka was highly pleased; in fact, there was nothing but good humour to be observed in the countenances of every one present. The party broke up at a late hour; and, as is usual, in the morning we paid the king an early visit. We now expressed a wish to see him in his war dress; he immediately retired, and in a short time returned attired: his dress consists of monkeys' skins, in three folds from his waist to the knee, from which two white cow's tails are suspended, as well as from each arm; round his head a neat band of fur stuffed, in front of which is placed a tall feather, and on each side a variegated plume. He advanced with his shield, an oval about four feet in length, and an umconto, or spear, when his warriors commenced a war song, and he began his manœuvres. Chaka is about thirty-eight years of age, upwards of six feet in height, and well proportioned: he is allowed to be the best pedestrian in the country, and, in fact, during his wonderful exercises this day he exhibited the most astonishing activity: on this occasion he displayed a part of the handsomest beads of our present.

While sitting in our hut, at a late hour, we were aroused by the shrieks of thousands of human voices: we naturally concluded it was the enemy advancing, being aware they expected them hourly: the real cause, however, was soon ascertained,—which was the death of the king's grandmother, supposed to be between ninety and a hundred years of age. The kraal in which she resided, was about a mile distant. Men, women, and children, having cried bitterly for several hours, there ensued a profound silence; after which thousands at the same moment commenced a most doleful song, which lasted a night and the greater part of the following day. It is said that this is the only instance ever known of the king having grieved. To give his majesty an opportunity of seeing our respect for the deceased, we repaired to the kraal, where the corpse lay; but in consequence of the excessive heat of the day, and it being surrounded by so many thousand people, with scarcely a breath of air blowing, we were obliged to retire to a more wholesome spot.

To give an idea of the heat, hundreds were carried away, having actually fainted, and were drenched in a contiguous brook. The remains of the old lady were conveyed to a particular spot, where they inclosed her within a stone wall; an honour which is seldom paid, except to the chiefs, who are similarly inclosed, with their heads above ground: the others are allowed to remain on the spot where they may have died, unless it happens in a hut; in which case they are removed a short distance, and in a few hours are devoured by hyænas or wolves, with which the country abounds. When a chief of a kraal dies, it is immediately burnt; and the inhabitants remove to an eligible spot and build another. In consequence of the death above alluded to, several days elapsed before we had any communication with the king; at length he allowed us an

interview, when we thought it best to acquaint him, lest he should hear it through another channel, that our vessel had sustained some damage, and we were in hopes, in about three months, to get her in order. We were apprehensive he might take advantage of our unfortunate situation, had he known she had been an entire wreck. He expressed himself satisfied, and made the remainder of our stay in his territory tolerably pleasant.

The day having arrived for our departure, Chaka made us a present of 107 head of cattle; we then took our leave, with a promise of returning as early as possible. On our way to Natal, we found the rivers more difficult to cross than before; in attempting one, my companions nearly lost their lives. Mr. Farewell, in stepping from one rock to another, was carried away by the stream into a most perilous situation: Mr. Fynn, with his accustomed bravery, being near, plunged in, followed by several natives, to Mr. Farewell's assistance; the current carried them all a considerable distance, until they came in contact with a body of reeds attached to the bottom, which caused an eddy: here they remained several minutes, to rest, after which they happily succeeded in swimming to the bank. These rivers are infested with alligators, which are constantly destroying the natives.

On the seventh day after our departure from Chaka, after an irksome journey, we arrived at our residence at Port Natal.

History, perhaps, does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster than Chaka. His subjects fall at his nod. He is acknowledged to be the most powerful ruler for many hundred miles. He came to the government after the death of his father: his elder brother should have succeeded, but through some treachery on his part he got him put to death, and obtained the sovereignty. He has reigned about eight years, during which time he has conquered and laid waste the whole country between the Amapondas, nearly 200 miles S. W. of Natal, and the southern and most western parts of Delagoa: he has under him many tributary kings; and the only powerful enemy he has now to contend with is a chief named Escon-yana, whose territories lie N.W. of the Mapoota, and who has gathered all his forces with the intention of destroying Chaka. Several attacks have been already made, but have always been repulsed. The Zoolas are now preparing for an advance upon them, and but little doubt is entertained that they will succeed, although the enemy exceeds them by many thousands. Chaka's strict discipline and method of onset is such that nothing in their warfare can possibly withstand the attack of the Zoolas. The dresses of his warriors are similar to his own; he differs only in his feather; and they are distinguished in their different divisions by coloured shields: they charge with a single umconto, or spear, and each man must return with it from the field, or bring that of his enemy, otherwise he is sure to be put to death.

The following fact will convey some idea of Chaka's despotism:—Several months before my departure from Natal, he was informed that a chief, who had under him about 450 men, had proved himself a coward (which was in reality nothing more than having been overpowered and defeated). The king sent for him and all his people to his own kraal, where every man was put to death: the lives of the women and children only were spared, and many of the former were added to his seraglio. Of this establishment it would be almost impossible to estimate the extent,—yet he will not allow that he cohabits with them; and to prove to his people this fact,

when any of the women appear pregnant, they are instantly killed. He says, when he has defeated Escon-yana, he will direct his course to the frontier of the Cape Colony, and not leave a living soul, nor rest until he reaches the white people; he will then be satisfied, and enjoy himself with his wives. I could relate many other instances of his barbarity, but they go to such an enormous extent, I feel unwilling to mention them, lest they should be discredited.

The chiefs of this nation observe the same laws as the other class, and should they in any shape violate them, they know well their fate. At the same time the petty chiefs possess the power of putting their own people to death.

The Zoolas are a tall athletic good-looking race, extremely cleanly, and very respectful. They are in the highest state of discipline, and always in readiness for war, in which they are mostly engaged, and have a great thirst for the blood of their enemies: they are irritable amongst themselves for the moment, but soon forget the past, and become friendly; they are also extremely generous to each other.

Dancing and singing are their chief amusements. The war-song, which is the king's composition, cannot be described, but to the ear of their enemy it must strike terror. In singing the common songs they are accompanied by the women, and dance with the most extravagant antic gestures, and throw themselves about, with the greatest agility, into most strange positions. When their gambols are over, having little or nothing to do with domestic duties, they sleep, or carve their wooden vessels, spoons, and ornaments of ivory; they also make several sorts of musical instruments, which merely produce simple notes, without the least harmony.

Their heads, in general, are kept shaved, except a circle, neatly made with their hair, in imitation of the mode adopted by Chaka; and from each side is suspended a bunch of feathers. The different parts of their body are ornamented with beads; they wear no other covering, except when going to war, and, at a distance, are only to be distinguished from the king by the difference of their feathers. To hunting they devote but little time, being almost constantly engaged in war.

We are informed that there are several nations of Cannibals, residing in the interior of the country, an individual of one of which we saw at the king's kraal, who recently came there, whether voluntarily, or otherwise, I could not ascertain. He allows that his countrymen live mostly on the flesh of their enemies, of whom they are constantly in pursuit.

This man's features had so great a resemblance to those of an European, that Mr. Fynn, who first observed him close to us, (at our first interview with Chaka,) whispered softly to Mr. Farewell and myself, that there was a Christian in disguise. I cast my eye carelessly round, and was struck with astonishment at the sight: his hair was long, and covered a great part of his face; he had mustachios, a large beard, a stiletto suspended from his neck, and the other parts of his body concealed by a carosse of hide. This costume, it appears, is common with his nation. During our stay he became very communicative, and put us in possession of much information relative to the inland tribes. Chaka is particularly kind to him; but as this is an extraordinary circumstance, he has, no doubt, some interested motive.

The country of Fumos throughout is most picturesque, and the soil apparently very prolific; it abounds in different sorts of valuable wood, and in various descriptions of animals, several of which pay only nocturnal visits; wolves and tigers (leopards) infest the country, and destroy numbers of the natives. Nine dogs, during my stay at Natal, fell a prey to them, three of which were literally torn from Mr. Farewell's house, and others taken in our sight. The climate is extremely hot, but the air is clear and salubrious.

There are several rivers of some magnitude inland, but they are not navigable on account of shoals; all the rivers in this country abound with alligators.

The women are of the middle stature; the majority of them are exceedingly well featured, and have fine figures; the stoutest are considered the belles: in justice it must be confessed, they are generous and hospitable, being at all times willing to accommodate strangers with food, &c., but I cannot pronounce them tender-hearted; however, this may be attributed to their savage habits;—on the other hand, they are extremely respectful to their husbands.

Their amusements are similar to those of the men, dancing and singing being the principal; and from having commenced at an early age, they perform their parts well: their voices are raised to an astonishing pitch, which is accompanied by clapping of hands; they keep both feet close, and jump about with great agility. They appear kind to each other, but nevertheless are jealous: this may easily be accounted for, as there are no bounds to the number of wives the men possess. In the kraals, their huts are placed at equal distances right and left from their chief's, from which they are divided by stake or reed fences. Adultery is immediately punished with death; and the laws of the country in other respects are severe in the extreme, as every command of the husband must be obeyed, even in the most trifling cases, or their life is the inevitable sacrifice. Many instances have come within my knowledge, where they have escaped to us, and begged our intercession with their chiefs; in these cases their lives have been purchased for a quantity of beads. Mr. Farewell has saved many.

The business of a woman (except in regard to works which require extraordinary labour, as in felling and removing trees, &c.) is the most tedious and laborious,—such as hoeing, digging, and planting corn and other seeds; in fact, every thing that regards husbandry must be attended to by them: they are in general the drudges of the kraals,—though the favourites, in some measure, are exempt from this excess in work. In travelling, they are always obliged to carry the loads, while the men walk at ease. I have known many perform a journey of nearly three hundred miles, with loads from forty to fifty pounds weight; yet they go about their work with as much good humour as though it was the effect of choice and not of compulsion. They perform astonishing journeys, and apparently with less fatigue than the men.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen they are allowed to become wives, and then have their heads shaved, except a small part on the crown, which is, like the men's, perfectly round, and kept plastered with red clay and oil: at a short distance it has the appearance of several rows of beads. The lower part of their ears is cut sufficiently large to admit an ornament of the size of a half-crown.

They wear an apron of hide about the middle; and it becomes so pliable and soft, from

frequent rubbing, that it has quite the appearance of cloth. This appendage, when at all soiled, is rubbed over with oil. It is ornamented with such beads as they may, according to their rank, be allowed to wear; they also wear ivory rings on their arms, and different ornaments of their own manufacture round their ankles, and oil their bodies generally every day, or as often as they feel disposed. When they become wives, there is a sort of ceremony observed, which I believe is confined to the chiefs. Two or three cows, or a certain quantity of beads, are given to their parents by way of compensation, from the husband; and the following day a feast is given on the occasion, when several bullocks are killed, and a large supply of milk provided, upon which they feast after their dancing.

When a woman is delivered of a child, neither she nor her child are allowed to be seen by any man till after six days. Should the infant prove a girl, it is kept constantly with the mother; if a boy, he is reared up to the exercises of his father. It is a melancholy fact, that when they have arrived at a very early age, should their mothers attempt to chastise them, such is the law, that these lads are at the moment allowed to kill their mothers.

The girls are very early employed in the fields, and go about without any covering, until they arrive at the age of puberty.

I propose, on some future occasion, to make a few remarks upon the capabilities and resources of this fertile tract of country. I entertain a sanguine hope that the time is not far distant, when the productions of Port Natal, under the indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant Farewell, and his enterprising party, will become no mean acquisition to the trade of this Colony.

Cape Town, July, 1826.

No. VI.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ENTERING TABLE BAY BY NIGHT.

Drawn up by Captain W. F. W. Owen, R. N. November 1825.

The bearings mentioned in these instructions are all by compass, or magnetic.

1st.—To enter Table Bay from the northward, meaning to pass outside of Robben Island, a ship should keep the Light to the eastward of south—nine degrees east, or about south and by east, until she get soundings under twenty fathoms, at a little more than a mile from the Light-house; she may then steer east south east, or east and by south, not to come under ten or twelve fathoms, until the Light bears west south west; she may then steer for the anchorage, and may anchor in from seven to six fathoms as soon as the Lights are shutting in behind the Lion's Tail.

This tract leads about a mile clear of danger on Green Point; but a ship need not approach it so near, if she have, by seeing Robben Island, ascertained by its bearings that she is clear of the Whale Rock, in which case she may round it at a much greater distance from Green Point, if desirable; but the soundings in that case will not alone be a sure guide.

2d.—In coming from the south west, a ship should not get less than forty fathoms before the Light bears south east, or east south east, nor less than twenty fathoms before it bears south and by east, when the preceding directions may be followed.

From the northward, inside of Robben Island, the Light should be kept about south west and by south, until a ship has passed that island; in doing which, she may have some casts from eight to six fathoms; and when on that course the water deepens to eleven or twelve fathoms, she may steer for the anchorage by the plan as before directed.

In beating round Green Point, a ship should never shoal her water under eleven or twelve fathoms, until she have brought the Light to bear west south west, as before said.

In beating between Robben Island and the Main, to enter Table Bay, the soundings may be taken from the Island, as it shoals to very regularly. In standing towards the Main, it appears prudent to tack at the first cast of the lead after the water shoals.

In these directions, it is taken for granted that a ship will always keep her leads going.

By day, or when the shores or surf can be seen, or indeed under any circumstances, the plan ought to be a sufficient guide.

There are two Lights on the Light-house, which are in one, about south west and by south; these appear to be of no other use than to assure the navigator which is the Light-house, if he should see other Lights. We have seen the Lights clearly off deck at sixteen miles' distance; but they will not make clearly as two Lights until within six or seven miles to the westward of them; and from the northward, one Light only will be seen.

No. VII.

NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, SINCE ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN 1652.

Joan Anthonie Van Riebeek	8 April, 1652
Zacharias Wagenaar	9 May, 1662
Cornelis Van Qualberg	24 October, 1666
Jacob Borghorst	18 June, 1668
Pieter Hackius	2 June, 1670
Coenraad Van Breitenbach	1 December, 1671
Albert Van Breugel	23 March, 1672
Ysbrand Goske	2 October, 1672
Johan Bax (Van Herentals)	2 January, 1676
Hendrik Crudax	29 June, 1678
Simon Van der Stell	14 October, 1679
Willem Adriaan Van der Stell	11 February, 1699
Johan Cornelis d'Ableing	3 June, 1706

Louis Van Assenburg	1 February, 1708
Willem Helot	28 December, 1711
Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes	28 March, 1714
Jan de la Fontaine (Acting)	8 September, 1724
Pieter Gysbert Nood	25 February, 1727
Jan de la Fontaine (Acting)	24 April, 1729
——————— (Effective)	8 March, 1730
Adriaan Van Kervel	14 November, 1736
Daniel Van den Henghel	20 September, 1737
Hendrik Swellengrebel	14 April, 1739
Ryk Tulbagh	30 March, 1751
Joachim Van Plettenberg	12 August, 1771
Pieter Van Reede Van Oudtshoorn, (died on his passage to the Colony, on board of the ship Asia, 23 January, 1773.)	
Cornelis Jacob Van de Graaf	14 February, 1785
Johannes Isaac Rhenius	29 June, 1791
Abraham Jos. Sluysken (Commissioner)	2 September, 1793

UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

J. H. Craig	1 September, 1795
Earl of Macartney	23 May, 1797
Sir Francis Dundas (Lieutenant Governor)	22 November, 1798
Sir George Young	18 December, 1799
Sir Francis Dundas (Lieutenant Governor)	20 April, 1801

UNDER THE BATAVIAN GOVERNMENT.

Jan Willem Janssens	1 March, 1803

UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

Sir David Baird	10 January, 1806
Hon. H. G. Grey (Lieutenant Governor)	17 January, 1807
Du Prè, Earl of Caledon	22 May, 1807
Hon. H. G. Grey (Lieutenant Governor)	5 July, 1811
Sir John Francis Cradock	6 September, 1811
Hon. Robt. Meade (Lieutenant Governor)	3 December, 1813
Lord Charles Henry Somerset	6 April, 1814
Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin, (Acting Governor, during the absence of Lord C. H. Somerset)	13 January, 1820
Lord Charles Henry Somerset returned	1 December, 1821
Richard Bourke (Lieutenant Governor) arrived	February, 1826
Lord C. H. Somerset left on leave	5 March, 18 .

No. VIII.

POPULATION TABLES.

In the official census of 1824, furnished by the Ward Masters, the population of Cape Town stood as follows:—

White Inhabitants	8246
Free Blacks	1870
Prize Apprentices	956
Hottentots	520
Slaves	7076
Total,	18,668

In this census, however, it is understood that the English settlers recently arrived, were not included; and from the considerable number of these who have subsequently fixed their residence in Cape Town, the entire population (exclusive of the military) must be now very near 20,000 souls.

The following tables, in addition to those already published by the "Civil Servant," will, I conceive, be sufficient to show the progress of population in some of the principal districts, and in the Colony generally, as well as the quantity and different proportions of live stock, possessed by the inhabitants.

Comparative Abstract of the Population and Live Stock of the Cape District, (exclusive of the Town,) in the Years 1811, 1813, *and* 1823.

	1811.	1813.	1823.	Total of each class in 1823.	
Men	456	460	921		
Women	282	298	624		
Boys.	307	348	661	White Population,	2891
Girls	370	405	685		
Male Hottentots	490	452	519		
Female ditto	464	445	441	Hottentots	960
Male Slaves	2589	2579	2396		
Female ditto	825	958	1215	Slaves	3611
Draught and Saddle Horses	1987	1872	2279		
Breeding Horses	3074	2928	2989	Horses	5268
Draught Oxen	9435	9488	10,118		
Breeding Cattle	6511	5757	5251	Large Cattle	15,369
Goats	none	7875	5332		
Sheep	20,474	17,740	11,086	Small ditto	16,418

Comparative Abstract of the Population and the Live Stock of the District of Graaff-Reinet, in the Years 1811 *and* 1824.

	1811	1824	Increase between these Periods.	Total of each Class in 1824.	
Men - -	1500	2993	1493	White Population	12,189
Women - -	1119	2278	1159		
Boys - -	2952	3416	464		
Girls - -	1934	3502	1568		
Male Hottentots -	2939	5322	2383	Hottentots -	10,725
Female ditto -	3193	5403	2210		
Male Slaves -	1124	1657	533	Slaves -	2852
Female ditto -	746	1195	449		
Draught and Saddle Horses	3180	6300	3120	Horses -	17,661
Breeding Horses -	5686	11,361	5675		
Draught Oxen -	15,162	26,910	11,748	Large Cattle	131,801
Breeding Cattle -	53,315	104,891	51,576		
Goats - -	104,859	130,141	25,282	Small ditto	1,640,412
Sheep - -	1,273,664	1,510,271	236,607		

Summary of the Population of the Cape Colony, from 1806 *to* 1823, *inclusive.*

White Inhabitants.			Free Blacks.		Hottentots.		Negro Apprentices.		Slaves.		Total.	Remarks.
A.	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
1806	14,074	12,694	..	..	9,784	10,642	..	..	19,346	10,515	77,055	The population is given in this table exclusive of the troops.—The entire population of the Colony, at the end of 1826, including settlers and troops, is estimated at 130,000, in round numbers.
1807	13,624	11,990	529	605	8,496	8,935	..	..	18,990	10,313	73,482	
1808	14,771	12,813	..	..	8,151	8,569	..	..	19,225	10,344	73,873	
1809	15,423	13,357	..	..	8,376	9,366	..	..	18,687	10,338	75,547	
1810	16,546	14,648	..	..	9,553	10,302	..	..	18,873	10,521	80,443	
1811	18,149	16,134	..	..	10,511	11,292	..	..	19,618	11,314	87,018	
1812	17,090	15,617	..	..	9,355	9,995	..	..	18,804	11,103	81,964	
1813	17,714	14,154	..	..	9,936	10,250	..	..	19,238	11,081	82,373	
1814	18,019	16,814	..	..	9,202	9,365	154	29	19,730	11,344	84,657	
1815	19,081	18,183	..	..	9,160	9,387	267	54	18,287	11,320	85,739	
1816	19,578	18,416	..	..	9,096	9,786	573	242	18,614	11,581	88,486	
1817	20,750	18,884	918	958	11,640	11,796	411	132	19,481	12,565	97,535	
1818	21,772	19,620	993	1,037	11,062	11,016	963	402	19,528	12,506	98,899	
1819	22,046	20,171	1,096	787	12,161	12,272	987	441	19,188	12,508	101,657	
1820	22,592	20,505	905	1,027	13,445	13,530	1,061	492	19,081	12,698	105,336	
1821	24,748	22,532	899	972	14,395	14,628	1,045	526	19,327	13,075	112,147	
1822	24,435	22,226	913	983	14,487	14,314	1,029	532	19,222	13,310	111,451	
1823	25,487	23,212	891	1,098	15,336	15,213	1,118	652	19,786	13,412	116,205	

No. IX.

METEOROLOGICAL DIARY,

Kept during the Author's Journey to the Bechuana country. The state of the Thermometer is given at about an hour after sunrise, and at one o'clock P. M. in the greatest heat, in the shade.

Date, 1823.		State of Thermometer, an hour after sunrise	at one o'clock P. M.	Remarks.
April				
Sun.	20	56°	62°	Cloudy.
M.	21	52	66	Do. with strong N.W. wind.
T.	22	57	60	Clear.
W.	23	52	68	Cloudy, distant flying showers.
T.	24	56	70	Clear.
F.	25	50	69	Cloudy, a little rain during night.
S.	26	52	65	Light clouds and fine weather.
S.	27	55	64	Clear, S.E. wind.
M.	28	55	70	Do. calm.
T.	29	54	72	Clear, with a few light clouds.
W.	30	53	68	Clear, S. wind.
May				
T.	1	56	68	Cloudy, rain during night.
F.	2	54	68	Clear and fine, calm.
S.	3	55	69	Do. Do. Do.
S.	4	60	75	Cloudy, with thunder.
M.	5	50	64	Rainy in the morning, clear at noon.
T.	6	48	60	Cold and cloudy, with flying rain.
W.	7	54	67	Clear all day.
T.	8	55	68	Do. Do.
F.	9	55	69	Do. Do.
S.	10	59	70	Do. Do. strong dry N.W. wind.
S.	11	59	68	Do. Do. Do.
M.	12	53	64	Clear, dry.
T.	13	53	67	Do. Do.
W.	14	54	69	Clear.
T.	15	55	65	Do.
F.	16	56	67	Do. with strong N.W. wind
S.	17	54	64	Rain all day.
S.	18	46	55	Cloudy, with strong W. wind.
M.	19	49	68	Clear, Do. N.W.
T.	20	48	60	Clear, Clear } Light snow on adjacent
W.	21	43	60	Clear, Clear } mountains.
T.	22	49	58	Cloudy, flying showers.
F.	23	32	45	Snow, (Past Sneeuwberg.)
S.	24	47	62	Clear, Calm.
S.	25	48	64	Do. Do.
M.	26	44	65	Do. Do.
T.	27	45	64	Do. Do. at Graaff-Reinet.
W.	28	46	65	Do. Do.
T.	29	44	67	Do. Do.
F.	30	49	69	Do. Do.

Date 1823.		State of Thermometer an hour after sunrise.	at one o'clock P. M.	Remarks.
May				
S.	31	47°	57°	Cloudy, with storm of rain in the night.
June				
S.	1	42	46	Clear and frosty.
M.	2	34	50	Do. Do.
T.	3	30	42	Do. N.W. wind. Snow on adjacent heights.
W.	4	40	51	Do. Cloudy, P. M.
T.	5	49	60	Clear, Clear.
F.	6	50	66	Do. Do.
S.	7	52	76	Do. Do.
S.	8	48	75	Do. Do.
M.	9	50	72	Do. Do.
T.	10	51	65	Do. Do.
W.	11	45	64	Do. Do.
T.	12	46	71	Do. Do.
F.	13	45	70	Do. Do.
S.	14	46	68	Do. Do.
S.	15	43	66	Do. Do. In the Bechuana Country.
M.	16	40	67	Do. Do.
T.	17	42	69	Do. Do.
W.	18	45	77	Do. Do.
T.	19	46	76	Do. Do.
F.	20	44	77	Do. Do.
S.	21	45	70	Do. Do.
S.	22	46	72	Do. Do.
M.	23	47	72	Do. Do.
T.	24	48	67	Do. Do.
W.	25	49	70	Light clouds. N.W. wind. Thunder-clouds.
T.	26	44	62	Clear, Clear.
F.	27	44	58	Cloudy, Clear, P. M.
S.	28	40	50	Clear, Do.
S.	29	42	59	Light clouds, Do.
M.	30	43	60	Clear, Do.
July				
T.	1	47	69	Clear, Clear.
W.	2	50	75	Do. Do.
T.	3	40	74	Light clouds. Clear.
F.	4	48	67	Clear, Do.
S.	5	44	71	Do. Do.
S.	6	47	68	Do. Do.
M.	7	48	70	Do. Do.
T.	8	49	74	Light clouds. Do. Do. P. M.

METEOROLOGICAL DIARY,

Kept during the Author's Journey to Namaqualand, &c.

Date 1824.		State of Thermometer. an hour after sunrise.	at one o'clock P. M.	Remarks.
July.				
S.	24	53°	72°	Fine.
S.	25	54	75	Do.
M.	26	52	70	55° on Mountains. Cloudy and cold.
T.	27	45	59	Rain.
W.	28	40	62	Fine and clear.
T.	29	42	68	Do.
F.	30	38	62	Do.
S.	31	48	60	Do.
Augt.				
S.	1	49	63	Do.
M.	2	50	62	Do.
T.	3	58	59	Heavy rain.
W.	4	45	62	Do.
T.	5	55	63	Showery.
F.	6	56	69	Fine.
S.	7	57	70	Do.
S.	8	54	86	Do.
M.	9	48	84	Do.
T.	10	55	80	Do.
W.	11	56	85	Do.
T.	12	53	85	Do.
F.	13	54	85	Do.
S.	14	50	90	Do. sultry, and hazy.
S.	15	52	82	Do.
M.	16	76	83	Thunder and lightning.
T.	17	62	82	Fine.
W.	18	51	87	Do.
T.	19	56	88	Do.
F.	20	64	84	Do.
S.	21	65	86	Do.
S.	22	58	75	Do. with flying clouds.
M.	23	55	60	Cloudy.
T.	24	37	62	Snow in the morning.
W.	25	48	65	Light rain.
T.	26	50	68	Flying showers.
F.	27	53	75	Fine.
S.	28	59	68	Do
S.	29	56	70	Do.
M.	30	52	68	Do.
T.	31	50	70	Do.
Sept.				
W.	1	55	70	Do.

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